FREE WORLD

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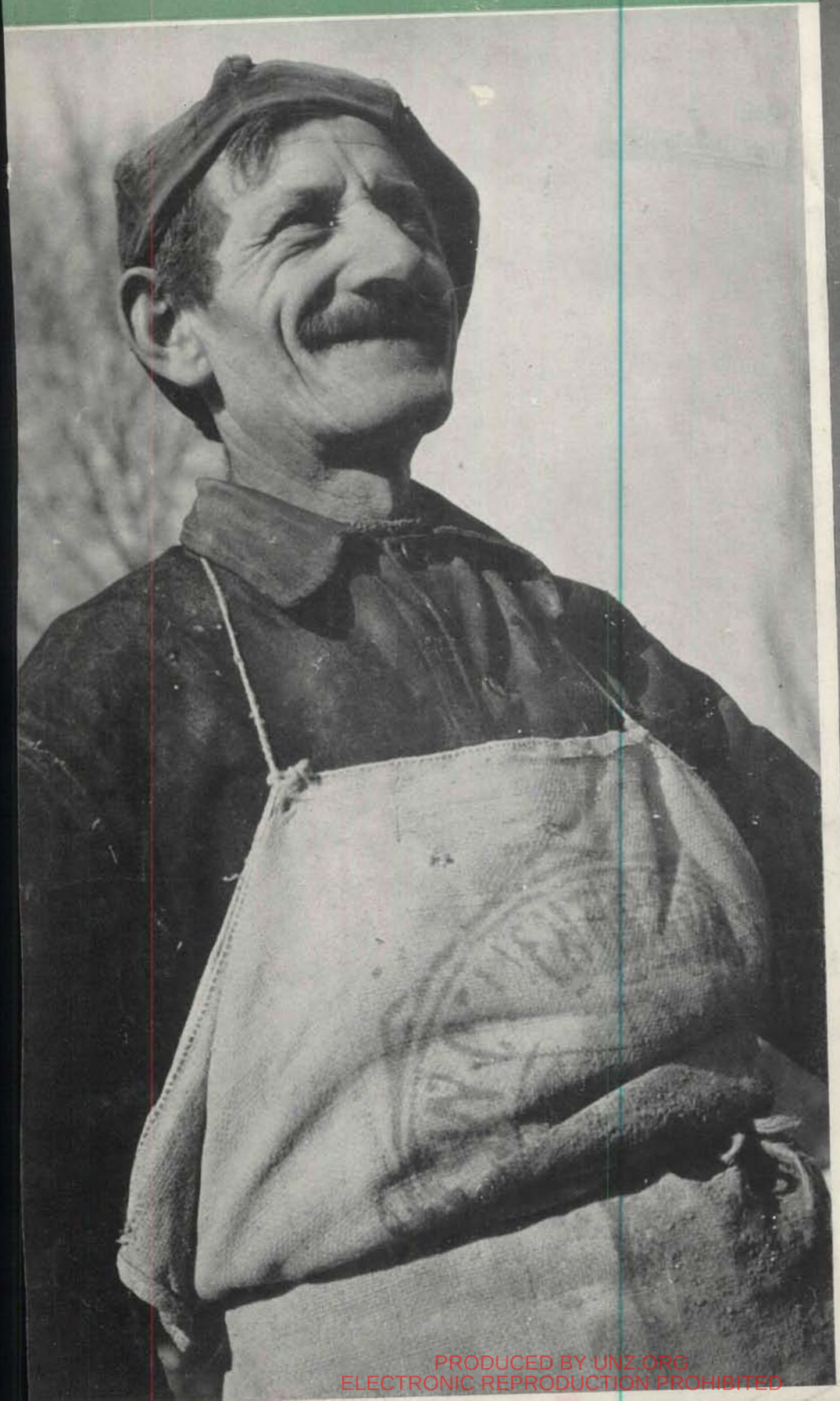

JUNE 1946

EMERY REVES
MAX LERNER
MERLE MILLER
MAX ASCOLI
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
ON

WORLD GOVERNMENT VS UN

INSIDE REPORT ON EUROPE
LOUIS DOLIVET

THERE WILL BE PEACE
AN EDITORIAL

AND
15 OTHER FEATURES

IN CANADA 50c

40c

Europeans—they may be hung
but their spirit is undaunte

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The State of the World.

June 1946

FREE WORLD HAZARDS THESE INFORMED GUESSES

FREE WORLD, whose Informed Guesses have been right nine times out of ten, hazards the following for the future:

1. The hottest open diplomacy show will be seen at the next Assembly of the United Nations in New York in September, when delegates of all the powers, large and small, will talk as diplomats have never talked before.

2. A spectacular reorientation of Russian foreign policy toward more friendly relations with the Western world is in the making. Maxim Litvinov might be in New York in September.

UN PREPARING FOR PEACE CONFERENCE BUSINESS

World City, Hunter College, N. Y. Some of the ace experts of the UN are beginning to look "privately" into the matters discussed and unsolved at the Foreign Ministers' Conference, for there is a good chance that all the controversial subjects from Trieste to Tripoli will soon be discussed by UN.

BRITISH CONSERVATIVES LOOK FOR NEW NAME

London. The British Conservative Party, despite Winston Churchill's strenuous efforts on both foreign and domestic questions, is not making any headway in winning back those sectors of public opinion which were lost in the last elections. The best political analysts of the Conservative Party are convinced that—barring any major world complication—Labor is in for at least the next ten years. The Conservatives are therefore considering a program of rehabilitation for England that would out-Beveridge Beveridge's plan, which the Conservatives now feel they were very shortsighted in rejecting. Secondly, some of the young Conservative Party members are urgently suggesting that the title "Conservative" be dropped from the Party's name and that it be called the "Progressive Freedom Party."

SPAIN REMAINS CRUCIAL ISSUE

Paris. European political observers are convinced, after a survey of different countries, that in the eyes of European public opinion the main conflict before the UN is not Iran but Franco Spain. In meetings and newspapers the problem of Franco is the most discussed issue, and almost no one dares to propose openly that he should be kept in power. For Europe, the German and Italian aid given to the Franco revolt is considered as the beginning of World War II. The whole prestige of the UN is at stake. Even center democrats and socialists are unreservedly behind Russia—on this issue.

CANADIAN POPULATION TRENDS

Ottawa. As are many other highly civilized countries, Canada is faced with a population problem. The Statistics Bureau of the Dominion states that if present birth and mortality rates follow the declining trend of recent years—with no great influx of immigrants—the Canadian population will reach a peak of 15,000,000 by the end of the century as compared with the present population of 12,000,000. Between 1901 and 1941, 4,300,000 new immigrants came into Canada and 3,643,000 emigrated from Canada, the majority to the United States. The emmigrants were mainly Canadians by birth. The

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cumulative results of these trends would seem to affect Canadian governmental thinking on immigration problems.

UNDERGROUND COAL GASSIFICATION

Moscow. Just before the war "Podzmgas"—a subterranean coal gassification station—was constructed near the city of Tula. The plant is now being enlarged. Machinery is being installed both on the surface and underground. The drilling of new wells is proceeding and a pipe line connecting the "Podzmgas" station with the Tula machine building plant is being laid.

NORWAY REBUILDS

Oslo. Ten British invasion barges have been purchased by the Norwegians for use in reconstruction work in the Troms and Finnmark provinces thoroughly devastated by the Nazis. As no docking facilities whatever remained in the area the barges are excellently suited for the occasion. The hundreds of tons of supplies and construction materials which each of them carries can be dumped directly onto the beaches and carried away by truck.

RESURRECTION OF ROTTERDAM

The Hague. The Netherlands Ministry of Public Works has allotted in its 1946 budget the sum of $11,500,000 for reconstruction work in Rotterdam. This is only an initial installment toward rebuilding of the city ruined by Nazi wantonness.

FRENCH PLAN INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION

Paris. The French Foreign Office is preparing a complete documentation of its own on the various controversial subjects on which the foreign ministers of the major powers could not agree. Should the same disagreements prevail at the June 15th Conference, the French Foreign Office is ready to stage a great diplomatic coup by proposing an over-all solution and by making it known to world public opinion.

NEW WEAPON IN FRANCO ARSENAL

Madrid. A recent Spanish decree requires all motion picture industry in Spain to be entirely Spanish-owned. Under the terms of the same decree, however, the Franco government may "for reasons of state" or for reasons of reciprocity either relax or lift the restrictions altogether.

The average Spaniard will thus be made to feel good about an important industry wholly owned by Spanish nationals and shrewd Franco will have added a new and potent bargaining weapon to his arsenal.

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN MANCHURIA?

Shanghai. In the fight for the control of Manchuria between the National Government and Communist troops, the economic motivation is of such decisive importance to the whole of China that neither side can afford to lose. Without Manchuria, China's very life is jeopardized. The Japanese knew this well. That is why they took Manchuria six years before attacking the rest of China.

At stake are: control over 45,000,000 inhabitants and an area three times the size of Germany; deposits of coal amounting to 11,500,000,000 tons (1941 output, 26,000,000 tons) iron deposits of 1,400,000,000 tons; oil shale deposits of 5,600,000,000 tons; rich gold deposits; surplus food products.

QUO VADIS DEMOCRACY?

Rio de Janeiro. The Dutra regime is quietly preparing a constitution which instead of transforming the paternaltistic dictatorship of Vargas into a democratic system as promised during the elections, is actually inspired by the Salazar, Franco and Mussolinian concepts of government. This draft, if adopted, will make for inequality before the law, not only between citizen and foreigner but between native—and foreign-born citizens of Brazil. It would put at the mercy of local authorities practically every means of public information: press, radio and television. The ideological affinities between anti-foreign Dutra and ultra-nationalist Peron are about to transform the southern part of the western hemisphere into a neo-totalitarian stronghold. Chile is in very grave danger, while Uruguay, bravely resisting, is no more than the last democratic enclave in that part of the world.

MOSLEMS THREATEN COMMUNIST WAVE

New Delhi. The Moslem League is feeling definitely that it is losing ground in India. Its position is weakened, first of all, because Great Britain has abandoned its traditional support of Pakistan (incidentally, an interesting new trend in the Labor Government which might have other important repercussions on the whole Arab situation). Secondly, the League has been weakened by very serious defeats in the recent provincial elections. With the exception of Bengal, the League was unable to secure a solid working majority in those provinces which it claims to control. Perhaps it is this weakness which explains the speech by Sir Feroz Khan Noon, a prominent League supporter, at a recent convention when he spoke in—for him—surprisingly friendly terms of Russia. He even went so far as to predict a considerable rise of communism if the Moslems should fail to get Pakistan.

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UN's HOST

by JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

We should like to call to our readers' attention the first item in the "State of the World" in the May issue of FREE WORLD, *which deals in another manner with the topic Professor Franklin discusses in this article.*

AS host of the UN the United States has the exclusive responsibility of seeing to it that the delegates and employees of the UN receive every consideration as individuals and as representatives of their respective countries. With the London acclamations concerning the fitness of the United States as a host ringing in their ears and with the San Francisco pronouncements on the dignity of the individual still fresh in their minds they will naturally expect to be treated with every respect which one human being should extend to another. Some of the delegates will be Jewish; others will be Catholics; others will be Hindu; while still others will represent some other religions, unfamiliar to citizens of the United States. Liberia's delegates will be Negroes; India's delegates will have dark pigmentation; and at times Russia's delegates may come from one of the many darker races which constitute a part of her citizenry. Despite our declarations in favor of equality and brotherhood we have never been able satisfactorily to assimilate the religious and ethnic groups within our borders.

ONE wonders if the United States can afford to flaunt its hatred, bigotry, discrimination, and segregation before the UN delegates who look toward us as the paragon in human relations. How will delegates react to demonstrations of anti-Semitism in our American cities? It will be a harrowing experience for Europeans sickened by the debauchery and savagery of the nightmare from which they have been so recently delivered. How will they react to pictures in the American press of savage recriminations against members of minority groups whose rights are things regarded lightly by America's "master race." How will they regard the continued refusal of many areas to extend the franchise to its citizens? Will they get a new definition of "free elections" during their sojourn in America?

THE UN delegates will travel in various parts of the United States. Some of them, distinguished leaders in their own countries, will be invited to address gatherings and to receive honors. One wonders if UN's host will subject its guests to the same indignities that it flings to its own citizens whose color or religion may not be that of the majority. Will it be safe for our guests to venture from the grounds of the UN? Will they be refused food because of their color? Will they be forced to occupy the rear seats of busses? Will they suffer the indignities and insults of vulgar name calling and the like if they dare to move from place to place in their host's land?

IT seems highly imperative that UN's host should use good and acceptable manners in dealing with its guests. Nothing could more quickly destroy the faith which the world has in the United States than a continuous stream of insults which we are capable of heaping on the UN delegates. Even if the delegates themselves escape maltreatment in the United States, it would be most unfortunate if we proved to these representatives from the world's chancellories that we are perpetuating all the inequalities and injustices against which the peoples of the world have been fighting for centuries. Let UN's host give serious consideration to its significant role, and let the citizens of the United States make certain that they do not forfeit their advantageous position of pointing the way toward real brotherhood and world peace.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, Professor of History, North Carolina College for Negroes. Dr. Franklin has for the most part confined himself to writing history, but in this instance points out some very important factors to us as the host to UN.

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THERE WILL BE PEACE

An Editorial

by MAX ASCOLI

THERE is no use hiding the fact or whistling in the dark. The peacemaking process, one year after San Francisco, is still, at best, in the initial stage. The institutions that have been designed to bring it about are feeble and limp. They were supposed to be the organs of cooperation, they have become organs for registering and dramatizing dissents.

The reasons are even too obvious. Everything rested on the cooperation of the major powers. This cooperation is not present, or there is not enough of it to keep the peacemaking machinery going.

It is strangely like the fall of 1939. At first, war appeared to be phony. So does this peace.

THAT was a strange period—the period of the sample wars. The aggressor nations wanted to show their power without making too great use of it. Weak nations were crushed by a superior enemy who wanted to test his might and intimidate all nations. Lightning violence had been added to the armor of the war nerves.

One year after San Francisco, the great powers, in the war of nerves against one another, seem to have fallen back to the system of the sample war. Each one of them has appalling weapons at its disposal, and the power of these weapons is exhibited in realistic tests that are the nearest possible approximation to the real thing.

In a few weeks, we will have the test of atomic power at Bikini. The Russians have in international communism—a weapon that they have been studying and perfecting for a number of years. They are using it now all over the world with thoroughness and at the same time with restraint, showing samples of its crudest types only in a few countries. Great Britain is studying and testing a number of alternative policies such as the creation of a Socialist International, just in case multilateral trade or multilateral security does not work. The American government is testing sparingly and watchfully the power of money loaned with a view to political and not merely economic returns.

There is no doubt about one point: the great nations are scared of the power that history or science has put at their disposal. They are looking for security from forms of power that they do not know how to handle. Our atomic scientists offer the most vivid illustration of this. They act as if they wished to cover up what they have discovered. They are an exceptionally humane and responsible group of men, but

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there must be other men, professionally engaged in the manipulation of international communism or of international capitalism who wish to God that both these powers were not half as sweeping or as subversive.

There is one fundamental difference between the period of phony war and our period of phony peace. It is that now the people, all over the world, know the taste of real war. When war started, it was greeted with a sort of relief, as it had become too unbearable to listen ear to the ground for its inexorable coming. Now the people, all over the world, know what total war is and have paid a high enough price for their knowledge.

Strangely enough, the peoples who suffered the most and who seemed to be completely demoralized and ruined are offering now the most heartening evidences of political wisdom. Molotov and Byrnes and Bevin—are not getting along any too well when they have to meet once every few months. Yet, their counterparts and opposite numbers in all the coalition governments in liberated Europe, do work together every day and every hour of the day. They know the needs of their own people and are learning to respect each other.

In Western Europe, sharply opposite political parties are forced to cooperate in circumstances where there are no constitutional traditions to impose mutually respected rules of the game to power-hungry factions. The more the people are drawn toward the extremes at the elections, the more compelling becomes the emergence of coalition governments to bridge the gap between Right and Left.

This is no accident of politics. This is the will of the people. They go Right or they go Left because at long last they can celebrate their freedom by choosing between the two, but they also impose a check on factionalism, because they are tired of war and tired of civil war. This is not merely the voice of politics coming through instruments of political representation. This is the voice of life, coming from the lands where life has received a most cruel beating. It expresses itself more nakedly where the instruments of formal political expression have broken down.

But the same voice can be heard everywhere. The people have had enough of being guinea pigs for the testing of military or ideological weapons. Their leaders may be awkward, narrow-minded or blundering in using the power that science or history has put into their hands. But the closer the leaders go, from one deadlock to another, to the edge of ultimate disaster, the more they have to heed the compelling voice of the people.

"We, the people of the United Nations" . . . the opening words of the San Francisco Charter are not rhetoric and not a plagiaristic compliment paid to the American Constitution. They express what is terribly real—indeed the only indisputable reality.

The more the people's will is felt, the more military, scientific or ideological weapons appear as incongruous gadgets of which the bewildered awkward leaders will never be able to make full use. For governments and ideologies are made for men, not men for governments and ideologies.

It is going to be a long and frightening pull, in unprecedented circumstances. But it will be peace.

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REPORT FROM INSIDE EUROPE

by **LOUIS DOLIVET**

This is the first optimistic report about Europe in a long time. The author, who met with the leading statesmen of the world at the London UN Assembly, and who has carefully surveyed the situation in six European countries, found symptoms everywhere of an amazing political, intellectual and moral rebirth. While the economic situation is very grave, the people are making incredible efforts toward a speedy reconstruction. In a few years from now Europe will be back on its feet, and will once more assume some of the world leadership it has had for centuries. Many Europeans are convinced that in the final analysis Europe will be the main bridge and element of conciliation between the Western and Eastern worlds.

IT has become a commonly adopted attitude to be very pessimistic about Europe. One often hears that Europe is decaying, that its great role in history is finished, and that for a long time to come no important contribution to the world's progress, either in intellectual or economic fields, can be expected from it.

This opinion has been spread through reports of newspapermen, soldiers, visiting businessmen and others who have deduced from the absence of taxis at big stations in Paris and other capitals, or of caviar and champagne in the various Ritz hotels, a lack of vitality in the nations they have visited.

This writer, who has just visited western and northern Europe found, on the contrary, many reasons for encouragement. The peoples of Europe, while threatened in their physical existence by the dislocation of their whole economic system, are passing through an amazing political and intellectual renaissance.

The most interesting new phenomenon is that literally millions of people have entered the political and social arenas of their countries. These people, from all classes of society—industrial and white collar workers, farmers and school teachers, joined by women who in five years have won more rights to real equality than they did during the whole past century—have lost their pre-war typical middle-class outlook of caring only for their jobs and families, and have learned that to be a really good citizen nowadays one must participate in the life of the nation and the world as a whole. During the years of occupation living conditions of middle class working and farm people were completely altered. They lived under a strict curfew which forced them to remain in their homes in the evening. Transportation was reduced to the barest minimum. Social life was nonexistent. Amusements such as theaters, cinemas, etc., were either so filled with enemy propaganda or attended so overwhelmingly by enemy soldiers that a great number of citizens preferred to stay away. The time thus freed was slowly but increasingly used for self-education, reading and discussion.

As far as work is concerned, the notion that a decent citizen must work as hard as he can to produce more and better goods was completely changed during the occupation. In order not to help the enemy, the people learned to work less and produce goods of inferior quality.

All these conditions created a forced leisure which could have resulted in a dangerous reversal of the habit of working, had not the Resistance movements made it a moral obligation for everyone to increase his knowledge, to think about the fundamental problems of human society, both national and international, to arm himself against enemy propaganda, to learn

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to know the Allies, and the conditions under which a better world could be achieved after victory.

Europe more mature than before the war

Thus the people in the occupied countries have emerged from the Resistance more mature, have achieved a degree of knowledge, of intellectual poise, of consciousness of citizenship, of speaking and writing ability hitherto unequalled in European history. The French revolutions, the Belgian conquest for independence and the establishment of a democratic constitution in Holland had great repercusions on small intellectual groups. But they had never reached as far into the very heart of the people, because never before had the people as a whole been for so long a time active participants in an intense dramatic process of complete political transformation.

This time, the very fact that global war and occupation coincided with native and foreign tyranny and that fatherland and freedom were threatened simultaneously in their very existence, has contributed to bringing political consciousness into every home of occupied Europe. This reaching of political consciousness into popular sections that had never before been penetrated, has resulted in an immense enrichment not only in numbers, but also in the quality of political parties, trade unions, cooperative movements and various anti-fascist associations which exist in Europe today.

The level of political discussions is a thousand times higher than before the war. One can find even in the smallest communities brilliant orators who have perfect knowledge of any given political situation, and splendidly drafted local programs. Communal and regional administrators have become much more efficient, and are of a considerably higher caliber than before the war; thousands of women who before had no political representation of significance are now included in local, regional and national assemblies.

The New Democracy at Work

For anyone who has known the pre-war parliaments of Europe, a visit to the legislative assemblies of the liberated countries is one of the most moving experiences. For five long years, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, aided by the Petains, Lavals, Degrelles, Quislings and Van Musserts have proclaimed the death of traditional parliamentarianism. Most of the elected representatives of the peoples of Europe were in exile, in prison, in concentration camps, or in hiding. During these years, Axis-controlled newspapers and radios have been trying to discredit both the parliamentary institutions and the men who served in them.

And yet, only a few months after liberation, elected parliaments are meeting again, with more authority and dignity than ever—while their grandiloquent assailants are dead, in prison or in hiding (for a short time) in Franco's Spain.

The most unforgettable impressions this writer had in liberated Europe were the sessions of the French Constitutional Assembly (whose mandate in the meantime has expired).

Upon entering the meeting hall, I was struck by the presence of a great number of women and young men. Almost all of them were newcomers to parliamentary life, and there is a story of great physical and moral courage behind each of them. Here is a woman in the Socialist ranks who has lost her husband, and who herself has undergone the most horrible experiences with the Nazis and Vichyites. But now her face is serene, and she handles her files expertly, leafing through different books of reference material for a new legal project which is being discussed; over there in the Communist ranks, is a young woman deputy who has been sent to almost every concentration camp in Germany. At the time of liberation, she was offered a plane in which to fly back to Paris, but she refused and stayed on for months to help her less fortunate fellow-inmates. She is now specializing in health and social affairs. And there to the right, in the ranks of the Moderates, sits a young Catholic woman who has courageously fought in the north of France against the occupation forces. Nothing in her face betrays the horrors of the recent past.

Many of the members of the new French Parliament are so poorly dressed that they would have difficulty in being admitted as guests in some of the other parliaments. A considerable number of them are workers, and some of them still carry lunch boxes which serve as portfolios for important state papers.

Another important difference between the present and pre-war European parliaments is the absence of fascist groups, of political movements and theories based on religious, racial or other discrimination. In none of the parliaments I visited did I find a single protagonist of the old hate theories. I asked whether a member of Parliament who was influenced by fascistic views would have the right to voice his opinion. The answer was that in theory a member of Parliament is free to express any view, but politically and morally such expres-

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sion would mean suicide, because the overwhelming majority of the people are so imbued with anti-fascism that he would immediately encounter the unanimous opposition of all his colleagues and the hostility of the majority of his voters.

All political life, not only in parliament but also in election campaigns, is based on the same assumptions. In western and northern Europe today, if you have not been a collaborationist, you can be an advocate of any political theory. You can represent socialist, communist, anarchist, monarchist, religious or atheist, feminist or anti-feminist ideas; be an individualist or collectivist, a nationalist or an internationalist. No one will interfere with your right to organize meetings, groups, committees, to place posters or do anything to further the ideas for which you stand. The only limitation is the interdiction of fascist propaganda or activities. This interdiction in most cases is not even formalized by law. It is chiefly because of a strong political majority against attempts to reorganize some kind of neo-fascism that it is impossible to oppose democracy openly.

The sense of individual responsibility

In talking to members of governments in France, England, Belgium, Norway, Holland and Sweden, I was deeply impressed with the new sense of individual responsibility. The members of the various European governments work against a background of constant misery, suffering and frustration. They work endless hours because they know that their people are at the limit of their phyisical endurance, and that not one minute can be lost in the race against hunger and sickness. Often after a dinner appointment, a high government official will return to his office at midnight for a few more hours of work. There is also a remarkable austerity in the private lives of the new leaders of Europe. They feel they have no right to benefit by their high offices to live better than those they administer. The habit of not answering requests of individual citizens—a certain habit of neglect, and rude behavior in handling demands and applications, very common before the war—has been pretty thoroughly eradicated.

In Belgium, Holland, Norway and Sweden, the neutrality which was so prevalent before the war has practically disappeared. The people of these countries who had hoped against reason that they would be able to stay out of World War II have learned their lesson. Even the Swedes, who succeeded in remaining neutral, are not feeling too well about their neutrality which was bought at the price of helping Nazi Germany at times.

In Sweden almost everyone hopes that that country will soon be admitted to the United Nations, but being very proud, they don't dare to beg for it openly. Yet they are determined to accept the most complete system of collective security, provided they are admitted.

Of course, the picture is not all bright in these parts of Europe. The people are tired, and from a psychological view the economic misery of the twelve to eighteen months since liberation is more insupportable than all the years of German domination. In many offices and administrations pro-fascists are still firmly entrenched, and are trying to do everything they can to frustrate both the economic recovery and the functioning of democracy. Their secret hope is that if they can last until a war breaks out between the West and the East, they might get back in the saddle.

Traveling inside Europe is more complicated than ever before. With few exceptions, the obtaining of a visa is subject to the bureaucratic rules established during the war. When I pointed out to various Foreign and Home Affairs ministers how much this is delaying the recovery of Europe and free exchange among the peoples, their answer was that after all the big powers do the same thing, and it is up to them—particularly to America—to take the initiative in abolishing red tape in international travel.

However, there can be no doubt that in weighing the positive aspects against the negative ones, the over-all picture is one of hope, and that in a few years Europe will again assume stature not only in political and economic fields but also in the arts and sciences. For never before in the history of Europe have the theater and other arts created such mass interest. Arts and education are no longer reserved for a small élite. They have become the patrimony of the people as a whole.

The Search for Democratic Socialism—or for a Synthesis between Capitalism and Communism.

The outstanding characteristic of Europe today is the search for a formula of social organization that will guarantee to the individual the utmost political, intellectual and moral freedom and which, at the same time, will ensure a maximum of economic welfare and security.

In this order of ideas, the project for the new

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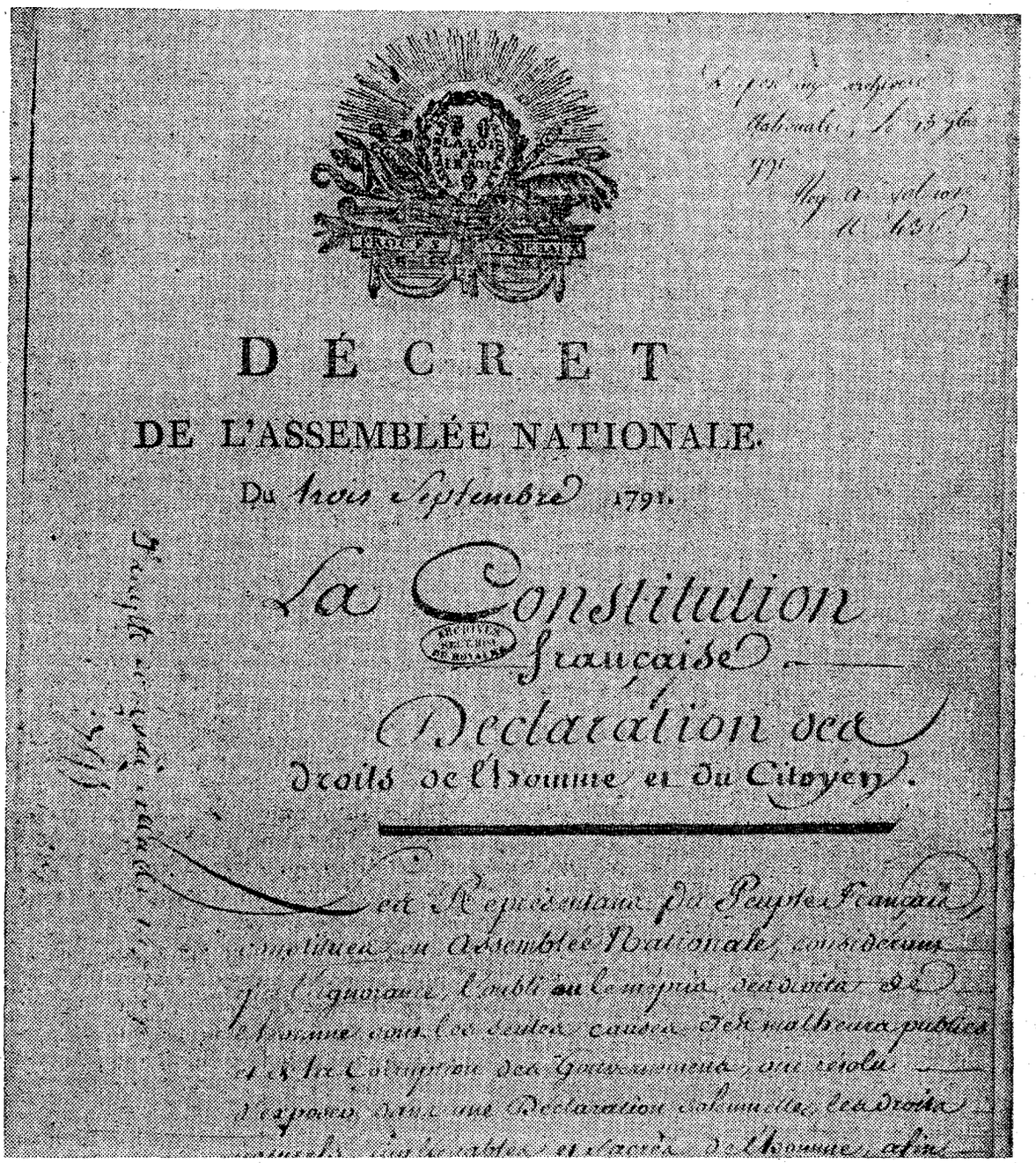

The French constitution of 1791, with its declaration of human rights, was admired all over the world. Although the proposed constitution was recently defeated by a small majority, it will, in a revised form, probably set a new model for the protection of human freedom.

French constitution, despite the fact that it was defeated by about 1,200,000 votes, is most interesting, as many of its essential provisions will undoubtedly be retained by the next Constitutional Assembly. It is almost certain that the whole section on human rights will be retained, because on these points all three major French parties are agreed. The section on Human Rights provided for complete freedom of assembly, speech, expression and thought, and forbids any activity which is based on discrimination because of age, sex, color, creed, race or difference of national origin.

The interesting thing about this constitutional provision in France is that the French have thoroughly learned the lesson of fascism, and are establishing not only the equality of rights among all citizens without distinction of creed and color, but that they are also making it a criminal offense to discriminate between

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citizens on these grounds, thus making it practically impossible for anyone to adopt such methods of discrimination without violating the constitution.

The French have learned that while very often the enemies of the democratic system will not dare to propagandize openly for discrimination on the basis of race or religion, they frequently begin their activities by trying to provoke and foster discriminations against citizens of a different national origin.

In talking to one of the French legislators, this writer gained the very definite impression that France's leading thinkers have adopted completely scientific methods to determine any kind of movement that could endanger the basic philosophy of democracy: equality of citizens. Therefore, they have gone further, and intend to make it a criminal offense to discriminate on the basis of age because they know that one of the slogans of fascist movements is to exalt youth and to drive a wedge between the young and the old.

If this part of the constitution is adopted, as undoubtedly it will be, France will have achieved the most progressive constitutional system, far ahead of all the others and will, within a few years, surpass even the most far-reaching policies of equality without distinction as to race and religion that exist today in Russia or the Scandinavian countries. Constitutionalists of Belgium, Holland, Norway, Czechoslovakia and other countries are following the French experiment with intense interest, and are ready to act in their own countries as soon as the French have adopted their formula. *It is in this constitutional direction that France is beginning to assume her new leadership in Europe,* again gathering around her the best elements of the European democratic élite.

Different kinds of nationalization

The greatest attempt, however, in the finding of a synthesis between the classical formula of free enterprise and the Russian and other concepts of Marxian socialism, lies in economic fields. The overwhelming majority of European public opinion is convinced that it is absolutely impossible for any government—conservative, liberal, socialist or communist—to put the European economic system back on its feet without a great amount of planning. A return to the 1939 economies is impossible simply because the industrial and agricultural systems have been changed radically by German occupation. The individual enterprise which was capable of selling its products at a reasonable profit, has disappeared. The break between agriculture and industry is so complete that the farmer tends more and more toward self-sufficiency within his agricultural radius. This means that the farmer has increased his own consumption of agricultural products.

In the field of nationalization there are three definitely distinct types which are being adopted: the first, as characterized by France, where railways, telephone, electricity and industrial credit (by England and France) are nationalized; the second, as in Belgium and Holland, where controls, particularly by taxation, are established; and the third, as in Sweden, where nationalization takes place only in those industries which are incapable of guaranteeing, under private management, the maximum in salaries, production, old age insurance and other benefits to the workers.

European Statesmen waiting for a chance

This political and economic concept of a synthesis between two opposed ideologies also has important repercussions in the field of international affairs. Europe, not approving 100 per cent either the Western or Eastern concept, does not believe that a new war would solve anything. Many Europeans believe that another war would create new ideological or territorial cleavages and result, this time, in the complete ruin of Europe. None of the European countries is in a position to take sides in an eventual conflict, and therefore they hope to serve as mediators between the Anglo-Saxon and Russian worlds and thus regain some of their old importance. This desire of mediation is strong in Paris, where Bidault dreams of it and has given a foretaste of his new function at the Conference of Foreign Ministers.

In Brussels, Foreign Minister Spaak who has ably run the first Assembly of the United Nations, hopes for a similar opportunity at the September Assembly in New York. Foreign Minister Lange of Norway, encouraged by the rise of his predecessor Trygve Lie to the highest UN office, also hopes to be a sort of Evatt of Europe. In Stockholm, brilliant Minister of Trade Gunnar Myrdal is convinced that increased international cooperation not only is indispensable but feasible.

Thus Europe is shifting from the classical concept of pure political democracy to that of social democracy. In international affairs Europe is shifting from an aggressive diplomacy of power politics to a more modest but also more constructive diplomacy of conciliation and cooperation.

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ATOMS FOR PEACE

BY LIVINGSTON HARTLEY

AFTER almost eight months of search for an answer to the atomic problem, the American people have now been offered a comprehensive solution in the Acheson Committee Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy. Careful study of this Report suggests that it is one of the most momentous documents of our day, outlining a path to future security against atomic bombs, a means of dispelling the fear that has filled the world since Hiroshima and a practical plan for harnessing the atom to the service of peace.

This solution proceeds right to the heart of the problem by vesting operation of all "dangerous" atomic activities in an international authority.

These dangerous activities are the mining and production of uranium and thorium, the only known elements which can create atomic explosions; production and possession of fissionable materials, plutonium and U 235, in "dangerous" quantities and forms; and research in atomic explosives. Since no nation or individual could legally engage in these activities, this plan would both minimize national rivalries in atomic development and prevent an atomic armament race.

Activities classified as "safe" would be left to national governments under a minimum of international supervision through inspection and various forms of indirect control. They would comprise the use of radioactive materials as tracers in research, operation of small nuclear reactors with denatured plutonium or U 235 and, eventually, operation of power plants employing larger quantities of similar materials.

LIVINGSTON HARTLEY "scooped" the State Department report on Atomic Energy with his April article entitled "Hold That Atom!"

So comprehensive a solution of so overshadowing a problem must have many beneficial repercussions upon peace and international cooperation. Although such repercussions lie outside the scope of the Report, they constitute powerful reasons for adoption of the policies the Report proposes. Some of them are considered briefly here.

No Atomic Pearl Harbor

The plan recommended would prevent an atomic Pearl Harbor. Since no nation would have possession of plants producing fissionable materials, a would-be aggressor would have to seize such plants from the international authority before it could begin to make atomic bombs. It is proposed that stockpiles of such materials at all plants be kept at a minimum, and it is estimated that a year or more would be required after seizure of a plant before atomic bombs could be produced in quantities sufficient to have an important influence on the outcome of war. This lapse of time between seizure of the plants and possession of atomic explosives would obviously provide all other nations with an opportunity to take effective collective measures to preserve international security.

Moreover, it seems evident that certain practical contingencies would raise serious obstacles to any attempt to use atomic explosives for aggression. In the first place, the actual seizure of atomic plants by the aggressor might result in destruction or serious damage of many of their installations by the staff of the international authority. After that, if the nations seeking to defend international security possessed superior air power, they might use it to destroy these atomic plants, or at least to impede their operation. Because many of these nations would have atomic plants located in their territories, they might, under such conditions, succeed in producing atomic bombs

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at an earlier date than could the aggressor.

Since the entry into force of this plan would render impossible a surprise attack with atomic weapons and would raise these obstacles to employment of atomic explosives for aggression, it would go far to restrict the danger of atomic warfare to a situation in which a major war had first broken out. In that event, the belligerents might seize the atomic plants within their territories.

Consequently, it is important to see how this plan would contribute directly toward prevention of any major war, first, through its strategic consequences and, second, by promoting international cooperation.

Decentralize Plants

After the plan was fully in force atomic production plants would be located in many countries. This is clearly essential because their concentration in any one spot would risk seizure of the world's atomic production by one government. It cannot, of course, be expected that other nations will be willing permanently to have these plants operated solely in the United States. Nor is it practicable to concentrate them upon some remote island, because then they would be open to seizure by the Powers controlling the sea.

This distribution of atomic plants will bring about a similar distribution of potentialities for atomic warfare. All industrial nations wherein the plants are situated will be generally on a more or less equal footing in their capacity to seize the plants and produce atomic bombs in a year or more. Where differences in this capacity occur, they will depend more upon industrial and technical aptitudes than upon mere size.

In this situation the Great Powers would retain their regional superiority for non-atomic war, but would be more or less on an equal footing with many nations in their potential capacity, after a year or more, to wage atomic war. If the leaders of a Great Power were tempted to embark upon aggression, they might count upon maintaining their regional superiority for about a year. But they would know that at the end of this period they could be confronted with an overwhelming superiority in immeasurably more destructive atomic weapons in the hands of the nations desiring to defend international security.

If these nations could not take action through the Security Council because of the Great Powers' veto, they could act in collective defense for mutual protection under Article 51 of the Charter, and the result could be utter disaster to the aggressor. The possibility that they might act effectively under such conditions, impelled by the fear that a continuance of war would lead in a year or so to the employment of atomic weapons, would seem likely to constitute a powerful barrier to war as an instrument of national policy.

UN Prestige Increased

At the same time that general adoption of this plan would raise new barriers against war, it would also greatly increase the prestige and importance of the United Nations. The projection of a form of international government so far in this field would tend to promote the progressive extension of forms of international government in the political, economic and social fields, all heading up to the General Assembly and the Security Council. History suggests that just as the United States Government developed in its early years by carrying out activities and responsibilities, so will the United Nations.

Of fundamental and progressively growing importance would be the contribution of this plan to the relations between the Western Powers and Russia. Many existing obstacles, such as lack of intimate contacts and mutual understanding, would be largely overcome once the far-reaching activities of the international authority were under way. Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen on the staff of the authority would be helping to operate uranium mines and atomic plants in Russia, assisting Russian scientists in research, and, eventually, aiding Russian industries to construct and operate power plants utilizing atomic energy. Russians on the staff of the authority would be carrying out similar activities in the United States, England, France and other western countries.

Finally, promoting both the future work and organic growth of the United Nations and the future relations between the Western Powers and Russia, would be the decrease of fear and the growth of confidence. These consequences of the plan would begin to develop as soon as it became apparent that it was acceptable to our Government and other major Powers. If the policies it outlines could be written into a generally accepted treaty, they would create a new basis for international cooperation. For the widespread fear that an atomic armament race cannot be avoided and will lead to an atomic war has been a root cause of the difficulties which have beset the world since Hiroshima.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF AN ATOMIC BOMB

by MILTON RUGOFF

If the Atomic Bomb could speak, what would it say? Mr. Rugoff, in this article, gives his ideas on what it would say, and leaves it to the world to decide—intelligently and sanely, or otherwise.

SITTING here at the heart of an atom of Uranium, content with my inertia, I have been putting down notes on the time which has passed since my astounding birth in 1945. I have spoken three times to the world, spoken so that even the deaf might hear, but I must have said different things to different men, for they have done nothing but quarrel over me. Many say it is inevitable that I will be called on to speak again. If I do so it may be a message spoken into space without echo.

Considering my extraordinary powers, not much time elapsed between my conception and my nativity. My father was Science, and my mother Uranium. They came together in laboratories in many lands, my mother passive, but full of latent promise, my father high-minded and brilliant, but groping. The courtship began in relatively peaceful times but soon warring nations took over control of both my mother and father and decided to spur the courtship into hasty marriage and child-bearing.

The affair was furtive. My father was brought from many places, my mother spirited from earth, and the conception was brought about under hothouse forcing conditions in the United States. The period of gestation was cloaked in such secrecy that even those who tended my mother day and night were not sure what was taking place. As he proceeded, my father grew more and more confident of his virility, and calculated although he could hardly imagine, what a prodigy he would help bring forth.

MILTON RUGOFF has returned to *Alfred A. Knopf* as editor after two and one-half years in the Army. He also taught at Brooklyn College and CCNY and is a contributor to the Book Section of the *Herald Tribune.*

Attended by physicians from far and wide, my mother's accouchement took place in New Mexico, and, after such massive preparations as have been undertaken for few births, I was born on the 16th of July, 1945, in the middle of a desert. As the race of man measures such things, it was more like a cataclysm than a birth. But there are no analogies for me.

I rose to life as a pillar of annihilation and my first use was to strike terror into men's hearts.

I was flown to a land across the seas and there I was loosed twice. What I did on those occasions humbled my victims but made my masters arrogant. Although my father said again and again that I could be begotten wherever he or his kind chose to come together with my mother or her kind, the Americans, who had paid the bills while I was aborning, decided to take me into "protective custody" and use me as a threat for as long as they could. I affected them even more insidiously: I made them feel secure and encouraged them to lose interest in solving their quarrels by peaceful means or a pooling of forces.

AS soon as it became clear that one nation assumed the right to direct my destructive powers, and, although that was plainly incidental, my constructive powers, too, other nations began bending their energies to producing a brother who might equal or a cousin who might outdo me. Then my original guardians declared they were willing to reveal the "secret" of my origin to others, but by that time it was too late, for they had already used me as a threat, sown fear and suspicion and helped undermine faith in international cooperation and collective security.

Some time has passed since I was born. I have grown and changed and although no one has

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let me test my strength since those original demonstrations, it has been estimated that my power has already increased tenfold and that soon I will be incalculable. It is whispered that the British have a brother of mine as strong as I was a while back, that the Soviet Union has a sister of different but equally frightful power, that the Germans working in Spain and Argentina have something whose potentialities they themselves do not know.

My father has been working hard to find beneficial uses for me but privately he admits that I could wipe out in one day all the good things I could do in a decade. He has tried to disclaim responsibility for what may happen if one of my masters should ever loose me again for the purposes of war. He and his friends who advocated that I be turned over to a trusteeship of nations sometimes cry out that they have been seduced and betrayed and many of them go about prophesying doom. And the masters in whose hands my brethren and I remain, have, with a few exceptions, become either complacent with the sense of power I give them, or, seeing the enormities that betide, wring their hands, helpless to stop the treadmill on which they race. There are many who wish I had never been born.

I myself do not care one way or the other. I have no will of my own. I am power without reason—only as good or evil as those who own me. I would just as soon be the ward of a representative group as the captive of individuals. I would just as soon give life and energy to a great city as annihilate it; I would just as soon annihilate it as give it life.

I would just as soon be locked up in eternal silence as be made to labor again.

When I speak again it will be too late to **listen.**

AMERICAN HISTORY: 1960

by ELIZABETH M. STIRTON

CLASS ASSIGNMENTS

I. On an outline map of the United States:
   a. Color red the location of cities destroyed by the atomic bomb.
   b. Outline other devastated areas in black.
   c. Color light green the areas escaping destruction.

   (To draw the map, teachers should use the big concrete slab near Twin Forks Creek; the large crack simulates reasonably accurately the course of the Mississippi River.)

II. Construct graphs showing the decline in population:
   a. According to Einstein's estimate in 1945.
   b. Actual losses in 1953.

   (Students should use cane, pampas grass and raffia for the construction of the graphs. Birch bark makes convenient markers.)

III. Draw up a chart listing the theories advanced by those who think:
   a. Russia started the war.
   b. Great Britain was to blame.
   c. The responsibility lay with the U. S. A.
   d. Other reasons.

   (Disposable tissue—i.e. slate—should be used for these lists.)

IV. Sketch illustrations and tell what each of the following did:
   a. Automobile.
   b. Movies.
   c. Refrigerator (ice box).

   (Sketches should be either on slate or in wet sand. Actual parts of these articles can be seen in Museum Cave No. 4.)

V. List the names of those who:
   a. Wanted to put atomic energy to constructive use.
   b. Use it for war.

   (These lists should be compiled in string-knot writing only, to improve the nimbleness of the students' fingers)

VI. Lessons for Tuesday: Read Stone Tablet No. 3, column 1.

   Notice to all students:

   Please keep chisels sharp! Legibility is difficult when you try to write with dull chisels.

   Cut your stones sharply, and leave a comfortable margin on the left side.

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GIULIANA

(If she knew that I had written about her, she would never forgive me.)

by LIDIA STORONI MAZZOLANI

SHE used to come to see me almost every day, asking me to carry out the most difficult undertakings, to get large sums of money for the Partisans from wary or no longer prosperous bankers, or to dig up within a few hours a dozen suits of clothes for a group of Allied prisoners who were to make their escape that evening, going into hiding under the care of Father Alessio on the island of San Bartolomeo.

At times she wanted nothing more than to relax and to indulge in idle chatter; strange as it may seem, at a time of such exceptional gravity, she was happy to laugh over some trivial joke.

Occasionally she would burst in barely five minutes after the curfew at seven o'clock. The sound of the doorbell at that hour was a cause for alarm; it caught each one of us at his battle station. We would hasten to turn the radio dial to the official Rome program, hiding our underground papers under geranium pots on the terrace and we would stand around nonchalantly in a way that would never have fooled the Fascists or the Nazi S.S. men if they had been at the door. On such occasions she came to spend the night bringing with her a bag full of the most outlandish objects: toilet articles for a perpetual transient; some precious coffee for a hidden friend who was slowly going mad with waiting; some thousand-lira notes from God knows where for Montezemolo, the leader of the armed resistance, who was here, there and everywhere (until he fell into a trap); bogus ration books for those of her proteges who had not signed with the Germans and thus had lost their right to a daily crust of bread; and finally false papers for herself because she was already known to the police under a variety of names. Every time she came the first thing I asked was: "What is your name this evening?" so that I would not make a mistake, should the police stop in for a routine call and ask me the name of this guest not included in the list of tenants posted downstairs.

It would be hard to say in a few words exactly what she was up to. "Just a gadfly" is what she modestly called herself in the Tuscan dialect which she had inherited from her grandfather, a well known writer. Because she was an ageless and expressionless spinster (her description registered with the police mentioned no unusual physical traits), and came from an excellent family, she enjoyed the double advantage of passing almost unobserved and of inspiring confidence in the many persons with whom she had dealings. Many of these practically put their lives in her keeping. They told her where they lived; where they had stored arms for fighting on the streets on the "great day" (so long awaited and hoped for, yet feared and often postponed in their imagination); where the movable underground radio transmitter would be on the following day in the course of its ceaseless flight from the Germans, and where a certain officer could be found who was ready to go through the enemy lines.

SHE was everywhere at once, making contacts and going into places where it would have been dangerous for a man to enter: government offices, banks, monasteries, right under the noses of the Germans. To the military, Giuliana brought the encouragement of political leaders, to the political leaders the factual reports of the military; she nurtured relationships among the most divergent parties and the bitterest of rivals. Because of the warmth of her smile and the keenness of her intelligence, they cooperated with one another in the exchange of news, warnings and general information. Above all she spread hope and courage in the vast city of Rome, left ghostly and deserted by the police round-ups, superficially intact but ridden with hunger, poverty and the nervous tension of waiting for imminent liberation.

In spite of a superficial orderliness and silence, Rome hid behind its impenetrable doors thousands of prisoners, deserters, officers impervious to the cajolery and threats of the

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LIDIA STORONI MAZZOLANI is daughter and wife of Italian liberals. During the war she was very active in the Italian underground and with Giuliana risked her life constantly.

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(*Courtesy of the World Theatre, N. Y.*)

This could be Giuliana. She is the heroine of the famous Italian underground film "The Open City."

fascist high command, Jews and political refugees.

GIULIANA exhorted those who were depressed and encouraged the lazy and the timid with such good grace and simplicity that they never felt humiliated. She did not hold herself as an example and she treated with the same grace and courtesy the rough carabiniere to whom she carried a loaf of bread (usually her own) with a few hundred liras to help him along and the man of importance who might be a future cabinet member or ambassador. Her sympathies were purely human, based on real affection and trust. Colonel Lusena who was held in the Regina Coeli prison (which he left only on the day he was shot) had to be warned about his cell mate who was an informer. Giuliana managed to let him know that he should be wary of the man. After a questioning accompanied by torture, Leone Ginzburg was left in a state of exhaustion. Giuliana arranged for the intercession of a German prelate so that poor Leone was transferred to the prison infirmary and spent his last night in a bed where he died the following morning.

These months of idle waiting, waiting for a decision in the field of battle, were highly enervating, especially December before the landing at Anzio and April before the last imminent but unheralded offensive. The Germans were quiet, self-assured and more deeply rooted in our midst than ever. In front of their headquarters on the Corso d'Italia there was a long line of silent women, seeking only to know whether their dear ones had been killed along with the three hundred and twenty hostages of March 24th or whether they had been deported "up north." A fearful doubt had preyed on their minds ever since the soldier on guard at the prison gates had told them "not to bother to bring food any more." An impassive German officer replied that no names of the dead or deported were known. Meanwhile, lists compiled from rumor were going the rounds of the city and the story of how the hostages had met their death, falling over each other with their hands tied behind their backs, filled our nights with horror as we listened to the bursts of gunfire from the nervous German sentries posted at the bridges and highways, the explosion of hand grenades set off by Partisans or the stifled protest of a woman behind a door when the police car had driven away.

SOMETIMES of a Sunday, Giuliana would go to her own house, and there she seemed very much of a lady, sharing the family tea. She had a very young and tiny sister-in-law with a china-doll face, who held sway over

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the gentlest of subjects, Giuliana's brother, tall and mild, with the unconscious good manners common to gentlemen and thoroughbred dogs. They had two children, charming and guileless, and there was talk of sending them to the country along with my little girls should Rome become besieged like Stalingrad or a stage for street fights like Naples. Giuliana was always in a cheerful mood; she talked of the approaching liberation as an absolute certainty, and never spoke of herself. Anyone would have thought that she was leading a perfectly normal life instead of holding strange conversations in unexpected places with silver-haired generals or Communists versed in the technique of secrecy, arranging meetings in houses above suspicion, perhaps the empty drawing room of a princely palace where her high-born aunts must have shuddered to see her down-at-the-heel companions.

One morning, Giuliana came to see me very early: she always left at dawn the friend's house where she had spent the night. Her legs were swollen and her hat askew. It was just before the Cassino offensive; but this, of course, we did not know. She had brought me some false papers for a young man in hiding who had been summoned to military service by the fascists. She was pale, but her usual self. At the door, she embraced me and said quietly:

"We may not see each other for a while. I have to hide. They've arrested my brother. They took him as a hostage; they were after me. But we'll soon get him out."

"You don't mean that you'll give yourself up?" . . . I knew very well what was in store for her if she did. But she was already going down the stairs.

"We'll see. Don't worry about me. The trouble is that I will have to lie low and waste my time. It's up to them now; we've done all we could."

There were white roses on the terrace; it was early in May. Within a few hours we heard the consoling boom of the big guns and the battle raging on the Homeric beach between Terracina and Anzio and in the narrow streets of medieval villages. As on the first day of the landing, we spent that night at the window (keeping an eye out for the Germans who might shoot us for our curiosity) to hear the ceaseless murmur of the battle and to see the horizon lit up periodically with white flashes of light from the guns or the yellow beams from the searchlights, lingering in the sky before coming to earth and disappearing. How black and how strange the cupolas of Rome looked against these battle lights! During the intervals of silence, while the smell of newly mown hay blew in gusts from the campagna, we could hear below us, on the Ponte San Angelo the footsteps and the foreign voices of the sentries, under the gaze of the giant angels which decorate the bridge. Every night there was a flow of military traffic over the bridges, and we would whisper that they were going away toward the North and then we would see that the trucks were loaded with wounded men.

GIULIANA had disappeared and no one knew her whereabouts. Only one faithful follower, a former carabiniere who had been assigned to protect her, knew the convent where she had taken refuge. He carried our letters to her, also the peremptory orders of General Oddone (who had taken Montezemolo's place after the latter had been shot) to the effect that she should not dream of giving herself up in order to free her brother. If they had made her talk (and they had some very successful methods) hundreds of our people in the underground would have been discovered. Giuliana was shut up in a silent cubicle. How did she spend the days and nights now that she could no longer walk tirelessly about her city, giving out encouragement, even when she did not speak? How did she bear the thought that her brother might be tortured or even shot while she was powerless to save him because she knew too much and must obey orders like a soldier? How would she face her sister-in-law, who adored her husband, if such a thing happened?

We met again on one of the first days after the liberation when Rome was submerged in a sea of khaki trucks and footloose and cheerful American soldiers. We were dizzy and drunk with our release from fear and we went around embracing each other without asking any questions. Giuliana's brother had gotten out because of a sudden operation and the arrival of the Allies ahead of schedule had saved his life.

Later on I asked the little sister-in-law how she had made out under questioning, without daring to ask whether she had felt any bitterness toward her husband's sister. But she said simply, with a smile:

"I was only afraid that they might make me talk. Because I knew where Giuliana was hidden. But I had let her know—and she knew that I meant it—that if she gave herself up I would jump out of the window."

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MYTHS OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

by **EDWARD McN. BURNS**

A sparkling analysis and debunking of the myths which already have grown up around the topic of world government. Mr. Burns' contribution is another in the significant series of articles on world government which have appeared in FREE WORLD *in recent months.*

ONE of the outstanding phenomena of our time has been the rapid growth of the movement for world government. Its objective, of course, has not been international organization of the traditional type but something in the nature of a world republic. Its advocates envisage a system in which a central authority for the entire planet would bear a relation to the separate nations somewhat similar to that which the Federal authority in this country bears to the individual States. There would need to be a world parliament, representing peoples rather than governments, and capable of passing laws which would apply directly to individual citizens. Its powers would by no means be as inclusive as those of the American Congress; in the beginning, at least, they might extend no farther than control over armaments and former colonies. It is frequently assumed also that there would need to be a world executive, with minimum powers of coercion, and a world judiciary to interpret the laws and to try offenders.

Conceived in this fashion, the ideal has attracted a multitude of adherents. Indeed, almost everyone seems to favor it—as an ultimate goal. Despite an accolade nearly unanimous, however, the ideal has run into formidable obstacles whenever it is proposed as something which might be attainable in the proximate future. It has come to be surrounded by a thick curtain of myths which it is the duty of everyone interested in durable peace to strive to penetrate.

Myth No. 1: *The idea of a world republic is so startlingly new that no one has yet had a chance to examine it adequately or to weigh its possibilities for good and evil.* Actually, the idea in modern times is as old as the eighteenth century. Elements of it were suggested by the Abbé de Saint Pierre in his *Project de paix perpétuelle* (1743). It was developed in an amazingly complete and incisive form by Anacharsis Cloots, member of the National Convention who was put to death by Robespierre in 1794. Propagated as a poetic ideal during the nineteenth century, it was revived as a practical program after 1914. Several of its features attracted the attention of eminent leaders during and immediately following World War I. The notion of a world parliament, deriving its authority from peoples instead of from governments, received particularly strong support. It was endorsed by General Smuts, by the Emergency Peace Federation in the United States, and by the British delegation at the Paris Conference. For a time it appeared as if President Wilson would be satisfied with nothing less than a world republic. In a message to the Russian people on May 26, 1917, he declared: "The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality."

The beginning of World War II gave a new impetus to the movement for world federation. Indeed, the critical months immediately preceding hostilities had witnessed the publication of Clarence K. Streit's *Union Now* and the launching of his plan for an immediate federal union of the democracies. The book was a best-seller for many months, and the plan drew thousands of converts. As the power of the Nazi war machine made its awful impact upon Western minds, steps were taken to infuse more vigor into the movement for world government. In November, 1939, a manifesto was issued in Britain by H. G. Wells, George Catlin, Barbara Wooton, and Cyril Burt, declaring that a lasting settlement of the world's

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troubles at the end of the war "must go far beyond the League Covenant." All this, of course, was long before Hiroshima. What the atomizing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki did was not to give birth to the movement for a parliament of man but to call attention, in the most dramatic way possible, to the urgency of the problem.

Myth No. 2: *World federation is advocated chiefly by philosophers and dreamers who have little knowledge of the hard realities of public affairs.* Any movement organized to bring about change in this world is likely to have its complement of visionaries among its sponsors. The movement for world government is no exception. But along with the visionaries there is certainly a considerable sprinkling of more hard-bitten types. General MacArthur, addressing the Allied Council for Japan on April 4, 1946, described a world federation as the next logical step in the political evolution of mankind. He declared that the UN could not hope to survive unless it accomplished for all nations the abolition of war as a sovereign right. More unequivocal, perhaps, was the statement of Ernest Bevin in the House of Commons last November when he avowed himself "willing to sit with anybody, of any party, of any nation, to try to devise either a franchise or a constitution . . . for a world assembly, with a limited objective—the objective of peace." He called for a world law "with a moral world force behind it . . . with a world judiciary to interpret it, with a world police to enforce it." President Truman in his message to Congress on January 21, 1946, committed himself almost as definitely. Buried in the middle of the long document was the following assertion: "Our ultimate security requires more than a process of consultation and compromise. It requires that we begin now to develop the United Nations Organization as the representative of the world as one society." It is noteworthy that he did not advance this idea as something to be striven for in the distant future; he said that we should begin *now*.

One could multiply examples almost interminably.

Myth No. 3: *The advocates of world government are mainly conservatives and reactionaries who fear Russia and who hope to establish Anglo-American domination.* There is almost no basis for this opinion except in the imaginations of those who hold it. The list of advocates includes public leaders of almost every shade of political coloration. Editorials supporting the ideal have appeared in periodicals as diverse as *The Nation* and 7
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Myth No. 4: *The advocates of world government propose to scrap the UN and thereby risk plunging the world into chaos.* This is entirely false so far as the vast majority of the proponents are concerned. The strongest of the organizations dedicated to furthering the movement is *Americans United for World Government,* of which Raymond Swing is chairman and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman acting president. From the beginning *Americans United* has been committed to support of the United Nations, but with the demand that it shall be modified to make it a more effective instrument for preserving peace. Their program calls for amendment of the UN Charter to provide for a world executive body responsible to a legislative assembly. The assembly would be empowered to enact laws for control of all major weapons of warfare, including the atomic bomb, and to maintain and equip world in-

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spection and police forces. *Americans United* recently absorbed most of the other organizations established for a similar purpose.

Thus far two major conferences have been held to promote the cause of world federation, one at Dublin, N. H., and the other at Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. The wording of the majority report of the Dublin Conference might lead one to believe that its primary object was to bring about the speedy demise of the United Nations Organization. The San Francisco Charter was described as "inadequate and behind the times." Nevertheless, one of the leading participants in the conference, in a letter to the New York *Times,* emphatically denied that he and his colleagues had any intention of urging the scrapping of the UN Charter. He maintained that every one of the recommended changes could be accomplished under the amending clause already in the Charter. He insisted that the alternative was not "between UN and chaos" but "between a weak UN and a strong UN." Furthermore, the conference itself recommended that the changes be made *either* by amending the present UN Charter or by calling a constitutional convention. The conferees at Rollins College in March of the present year were much more emphatic in affirming their support of the United Nations. With only one dissenting voice they adopted a resolution that a world federal government could "best be attained through the United Nations Organization Charter."

Myth No. 5: *World government could never be successfully established except by a gradual evolution over a long period of time.* A gradual evolution would undoubtedly be desirable provided technology and the fears and suspicions of nations could be thrown into low gear to keep pace with it. Unfortunately, once an invention or discovery is made, improvements upon it tend to multiply in geometric ratio. Atomic weapons are no exception. Henry DeWolf Smyth is authority for the statement that a few thousand of the type of bombs already manufactured could destroy in a single night "all of the cities and industrial centers of this country along with their civilian populations." He stresses the certainty that the bombs of the future will be cheaper and much more destructive, and that they can almost surely "be sent as rockets or planted secretly ahead of time and detonated without warning."

A further obstacle to slow evolution toward world federation is the fact that the possibility of establishing control of atomic weapons by gradual steps appears to have been ruled out by our own government. At Moscow last December the foreign ministers of the Big Three agreed to recommend the appointment of a commission on the problems raised by atomic energy. The commission was to make recommendations concerning each of the following: (1) the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (2) the control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes; (3) the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction; and (4) the protection of complying states, by way of inspection and other means, against the hazards of violation and evasion. A short time after the agreement was published, Secretary Byrnes gave an official interpretation. He affirmed that the four objectives listed were not intended to be carried out in the order indicated, but that all should be read together, and that each should be "accompanied by full security requirements."

Myth No. 6: *It would be impossible to get Russian agreement to convert the United Nations into a world government.* The attitude of the Soviets toward a world republic is almost as much of a mystery as are other aspects of their foreign policy. It is by no means certain, for example, that they are unalterably opposed to any surrender of national sovereignty. During one of the stormy sessions of the Security Council last February, Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, bluntly declared: "The nations must sacrifice a part of their sovereignty if the United Nations is to be a real and effective organ." It has been argued by Sumner Welles and others that the Russians would never enter a world union unless they could dominate it to an extent necessary to prevent its weakening their own control over Russian foreign and domestic policies. The Kremlin, it is true, has staunchly opposed any reduction of the veto power in the present security organization. This, however, proves next to nothing. The UN was founded upon the theory that national independence will be preserved. An almost inevitable corollary is the assumption that national rivalries and struggles for power will also continue. It should not be forgotten either that the United States insisted as vigorously as did the Soviet Union upon writing the veto power into the San Francisco Charter.

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WORLD GOVERNMENT
versus
UNITED NATIONS

ONE of the momentous intellectual controversies today is centered around the problem of what kind of world organization is the most effective to maintain international peace and security.

There are those who are convinced that the present United Nations Organization is the only political and diplomatic structure within the framework of which world public opinion can best exert its influence to transform the wartime unity of the Allies into permanent and effective cooperation. The proponents of this conception insist that, after all, the Charter of the United Nations Organization was signed by 51 governments, and ratified almost unanimously by the Parliaments of these same countries.

There are others who, particularly since the discovery of atomic energy and in view of the growing international crisis, contend that no organization of sovereign states can establish permanent peace, and therefore they advocate the formation of a world government.

FREE WORLD *magazine, in whose Round Tables many controversial subjects have been discussed, has decided to devote its next issues to a thorough discussion of this topic. The Editors have invited some of the best-known proponents of both conceptions to participate in order to see whether a certain common ground cannot be found.*

The debate was the most heated we have ever had in FW. However, the different conceptions, while presented very courteously, nevertheless remained sharply divergent . . . contrary to what usually happens in this magazine.

The participants in the Round Table, which took place under the chairmanship of our International Editor Louis Dolivet, were: Max Ascoli, Professor of Political Philosophy at the New School for Social Research, an Editorial Writer of FW, and books, author of "Intelligence in Politics," "Fascism for Whom?" *and other publications in English, Italian and French; Max Lerner, Chief Editorial Writer of PM, Radio Commentator, author of* "It's Later Than You Think," "Public Journal" *and other books. Merle Miller, first editor of YANK's Pacific edition and Executive Editor of the New York edition. He is the author of* "Island 49" *and is currently working on a new book; Emery Reves, author of* "Democratic Manifesto" *and the best seller* "Anatomy of Peace"; *and Michael Straight, author of* "Make This the Last War," *and an Editor of the New REPUBLIC.*

ROUND TABLE No. 28

CHAIRMAN DOLIVET: Gentlemen, there is a discussion going on now in the United States and over great parts of the world on the problem of United Nations versus world government. The discussion really centers around the question of which method is the most efficient to secure international peace and world cooperation.

You all have been doing a lot of thinking and writing about these problems, and I hope that the discussion will permit us to define exactly the respective positions and to see whether a compromise between the two of them is possible.

I will start out by asking Mr. Reves to define his position

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EMERY REVES: If we want to discuss this problem intelligently, we first must try to know exactly what we are talking about, and know exactly what we mean by war and peace. This seems obvious, but I fear most discussions today are confused, because in talking about peace, people mean entirely different things. If it is true, as we are told by historians, that wars have a great number of causes—religious, economic, racial, etc.—and that the moment one or two or five causes of war are eliminated, immediately a number of others arise. Then I think that the problem of war is insoluble and peace is a hopeless dream.

DOLIVET: Just a second. May we try to steer this point straight? I think basically it is relatively easy to define the two stages.

REVES. I think it is easy, too, but what I am saying is that unfortunately our statesmen have not defined peace. In my opinion peace in society is the regulation of human relations by law.

MERLE MILLER: I was just going to say that it was very easy for me to tell when the war ended. When they put out the point system that meant I got out of uniform. That was the end of the war, and I understood it clearly. It was the end of fighting.

REVES: Until today, we always thought of peace as a negative conception, that peace is the absence of war. That, I think, makes no sense, because during the past centuries every change in human history was produced by wars, and peace was the period without shooting between these actions.

MAX LERNER: The distinction that Mr. Reves makes is an important one. I think there is altogether too much tendency to think about peace in negative terms. I agree with his main point that if you want to make certain of a continued absence of war, you must rely on something more than the absence of war. But I differ with Mr. Reves' phrasing I am quite willing to use the common language that ordinary people use. Take the ordinary GI coming back when the fighting has stopped: he says there is peace.

MAX ASCOLI: I had the impression that the position of Mr. Lerner was that seldom had a condition of pure war or of pure peace been clearly realized in history. For instance, it is very hard to call peace the period up to the actual outbreak of the conflict in 1939. At that time, we certainly were living in a phony peace, and we are also living in a period of phony peace now. To my mind, peace, instead of being a sort of condition of perfection attainable I don't know where and how, is a remedial condition, remedial of particular situations that can make for war, or have made for war.

Emery Reves and Louis Dolivet

Special Photographs for FREE WORLD by J. Hugelmeyer ★

Sometimes conflicts of interests and ideologies instead of being fought with weapons of war are fought with political weapons. Peace is not a condition of rest or of perfection. It is simply a state of affairs where the conflicts among nations are fought with weapons that are those of politics and not those of military warfare. Incidentally, I do not agree at all with the definition of peace that Mr. Reves suggests. If peace in society is regulation of human relations by law then the labor conflict of our days means that we are in a condition of war. Certainly there does seem to be no law to settle the conflict between John L. Lewis and the mine owners.

REVES: I don't believe that we ever had peace *between* sovereign power units. Simultaneous existence of independent sovereignties is actually the condition of war, whether they are fighting or preparing to fight. Peace in human society can be achieved only by well-functioning legal order.

DOLIVET: Would you elaborate on this, Mr. Reves?

REVES: Certainly. If past history has anything to teach, it is that the step which is now before us, the integration of nations, is nothing new. We have gone through this dozens of times in the past. In over 90 per cent

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of cases, the process on integration was a very painful process, achieved only by imposition and force. In a few cases, it was achieved by persuasion and consent and union. So if you want to draw any conclusions from the past, I think that the *probability* is that we are going to get a world-wide legal order—what we call world government—by force. But history also proves that there is a *possibility* of getting it by consent and union before the conflict. The chances are very small, but I see here the one and only political goal worth fighting for.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT: Mr. Reves moves subtly between the realms of philosophical truth and political strategy—

LERNER: —his wonders to perform.

STRAIGHT: He advances as philosophical truth the obvious necessity of world order. He advances as political strategy the advocacy of an immediate world government as a political alternative to the United Nations. But if we are talking about political strategy, then the prophets in this field are politicians and what is desirable is what is feasible. I question very much in the realm of politics the proposal of Mr. Reves that we undertake to destroy the faith of peoples in the present organization of the United Nations, in order to prepare the way for a new faith in a highly-integrated world government. It is not politically feasible. It may well lead to war.

REVES: We are now at a dangerous point in this discussion.

DOLIVET: We have been since the beginning.

REVES: If we want to make sense we have to distinguish very clearly between the problem and the solution of the problem, and what is feasible and how it could be done. But if you want to make your definition of the problem, the definition of the solution, dependent on what is expedient today and what the governments will accept, then there is no possibility of clear thinking, and no promise of solution.

So before we go into the matter suggested by Mr. Straight—what the politicians would do, and whether the UN is the best instrument or not— I would like to see whether we agree on these two definitions: that war is caused by the non-integrated co-existence of sovereign powers and that peace is the regulation of human relations by law. If we don't agree on that, then I don't see any purpose to go on talking about how to get it, because then we are talking of two different things, and the discussion would be fruitless.

MAX ASCOLI: I cannot accept your definition. In that case, social thinking becomes simply a form of escape.

REVES: The entire history of human civilization is nothing but the accomplishment of the impossible. Everything is impossible until it is done. There would be no progress if man had always said, "Well, first I want to see whether the people will accept it." If Galileo, Newton and Pasteur had said that—

ASCOLI: Galileo and Newton, by discovering the movement of the earth, did not want to give to the earth any phases of movement, they did not want to have the earth going the other way around. Here we are talking not of things to discover but of things to be done and done quickly. What we are doing here, on the contrary, is a thing that should be done, and done quickly.

REVES: Take the early Christians—they first tried to solve a problem and when they believed in a solution they went out and spread it.

MILLER: I agree with Mr. Reves completely. It seems to me that everything significant in history has been done by a bunch of zealots, crazy people, guys with an idea, and everybody around them said it was impossible, but sometimes they made the idea work.

STRAIGHT: There are two other propositions: one, that the United Nations as presently constituted is not an effective instrument of lasting peace. Two, that there is no effective guarantee of lasting peace, short of a true world order of which world government is a part.

LERNER: Then I think you have to go on from where Mike Straight left off, by asking: What is the best road that will most clearly lead us to the goal toward which we all want to go?

REVES: What is the goal?

LERNER: The goal is a world order.

REVES: Do you mean a governmental institution having the power to legislate and apply law for individuals?

LERNER: I am not going to dream up a constitution for it, nor a set of laws. I mean something which has authority and power, yes.

REVES: Authority and power to enforce its will on states or on individuals? That is the crucial point . . .

LERNER: I would say that ultimately it would have to enforce it on individuals. But I think we have to come back to what Mike Straight said a while ago. He was completely right. You have got to make up your mind whether the world order, the world authority, or the world government that you are speaking of is an end toward which you are aiming and without which you cannot have an abiding

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peace, or whether it is the only immediate means that you can use.

If it is the only immediate means, then I think Straight and Ascoli are completely right in saying that it ought to be tested as a means and not as an end. If, on the other hand, there are other means available, if they are more suited to the human material and political material we have, then I think we ought to examine those means, and how we can use them, and which of them is best as an immediate instrument.

For myself I feel that as an immediate instrument world government is impossible.

REVES: Why?

LERNER: Well, it is impossible because at the present time we are in a state of suspended war which we call peace, roughly; we are in a state of suspended war, with two halves of the world gazing with suspicion at each other, and it takes enormous wisdom even to keep those two halves of the world going within a temporary framework of understanding.

There are those, for example, who say that Russia is determined upon an imperialistic expansion and will not therefore work with the Western powers inside the UN. I don't know whether this is your view or not, Mr. Reves, but it is the basic view of many people who advocate world government as an immediate means. I put to them the question: If this is the Russian attitude, even within the UN, how in the name of everything that is holy are you going to get Russia to work with us in an immediate world state?

REVES: I think that world government is not at all an ultimate goal, but an immediate necessity. I don't think that we have more than a very few years left.

LERNER: "Immediate necessity" is different from "immediate means."

REVES: The United Nations is a league of sovereign states. In a world of sovereign states there is only one way to get security, and this is to expand and conquer. The United Nations does not and cannot give security, consequently the nations behave as they have to behave. They are afraid of each other. They mistrust each other, and have to try to be stronger than each other. This is a condition of war.

On the other hand, world government would give security, if we established it. It is an entirely different problem.

LERNER: That is not the question I asked. In other words, what you are saying is: "There is another question which you have not asked Mr. Lerner, and which is an easy question to answer, but I do not address myself to the question you have asked." I raised the question of how you are going to get Russia, America and Britain to work together, and to surrender their sovereignty in a world government, when they are unwilling to do such a thing in a United Nations. You then proceed to say that *if* they did work together, we could then prevent war. I say you are completely right. But I still ask the question: How are you going to get them to do it?

Prof. Max Ascoli and Columnist Max Lerner

REVES: I believe that the ultimate goal, the ultimate policy of the nations is security. This is a very, very deep human emotion, and I think every empire was the product of it. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is imperialistic by love of imperialism. They both desire security. They are both afraid of each other. But whatever Russia is doing for her own security is a threat to the United States, and what we do for our security is a threat to Russia.

LERNER: You dismay me. You really dismay me. And I have the same feeling of dismay when I read your book, because it contains exactly the kind of reasoning you are now indulging in. What you do basically is to take the problem of peace and war, the question that has been raised for centuries as to how we will do away with the basic impulses to war, how we can build defenses against those impulses, and what you do is to re-state the question and call your re-statement of the question a solution.

I submit that is exactly what you have done.

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You say that the solution is to do away with national sovereignty. I say that is a re-statement of the question, because the question is exactly how can you do away with national sovereignty?

REVES: I told you there are but two ways of doing it. There are two ways. We are going to get it in one of two ways, either by conquest or by persuasion.

LERNER: That is very important. If you do not advocate doing it by conquest, you must advocate doing it by persuasion.

REVES: That is why I wrote "The Anatomy of Peace."

LERNER: Your book is a re-statement of the problem, not a solution. If you say you are going to do it by persuasion, you must come back to the basic question I am asking: If you cannot even persuade Russia and America to work together within the UN, how in the name of everything that is holy can you persuade them to work together in a world government?

REVES: The present conflict is the inevitable conflict of the surviving major sovereign powers. Catastrophe can be avoided only by a legal order. If we really want world government—and by that, I mean that if 20 or 30 million Americans clearly understand it and want it—if it becomes the official policy of the United States, the official policy of Great Britain, of France and of other countries, I am not certain that Russia will say NO. They may. I don't know, but I think they will not. I hate to presume.

LERNER: You are not in the group that thinks we ought to form a world government even without Russia?

REVES: It would be absolutely fatal.

LERNER: I just want to get it clear.

STRAIGHT: I would like to restate the political issues before the world: At this moment, there is grave danger of widespread disillusionment in the United Nations, because it is not able to prevent the march toward another war. In China, in Japan, in Southeastern Europe, in Germany, at Paris, wherever the Western democracies and Russia meet they are in profound conflict and about to split into two worlds.

It seems to me inconceivable that the break-up of the UN and the mass disillusionment in world government that would follow could possibly be followed by any more intense form of world organization. It would be followed by national rearmament or by a nuclear union of the democracies which would become an alliance against Russia.

REVES: You said that today it is a fact that whenever we come in contact with Russia there is danger of a state of war, there is a danger that the world is cut in two. Is this not precisely what is happening within the UN?

STRAIGHT: The UN is the one place where we are attempting to solve our problems without recourse to war.

REVES: But have we not succeeded in splitting the world into two spheres within the UN?

STRAIGHT: Almost; but the margin is crucial.

DOLIVET: Do you think World Government can be obtained by persuasion, or do you envisage a conquest?

REVES: I don't say we *have* to do it by conquest. I say it is likely to happen. The task is to try to do it by persuasion. I am afraid if we don't succeed before the next war is waged, all the nationals, including the United States, are going to become totalitarian. That is the great danger. All through history when freedom is achieved within a sovereign unit, it flourishes on that level until the unit comes into conflict with other units. From that moment, within the sovereign units, freedom is doomed, because for sheer group survival, the central authority becomes totalitarian.

LERNER: You keep on re-stating the problem. But I would like to hear from Mr. Ascoli, who I think disagrees with you even on your basic assumption.

ASCOLI: When we talk about a world state or a world government, do we do it thinking it is the only way of bringing about peace? If we are not clear on that point we go immediately into a completely negative concept of peace; or you have that kind of totalitarian peace that even Hitler tried but, thank God, did not succeed in bringing about.

The second point I wanted to make is that I would be a perfect madman were I to deny the ultimate desirability of a world order that would allow the regulation of ideological or economic conflicts with legal means and not with military means. This is as far as I can go, and I am glad to go that far in agreement with Mr. Reves.

As to the way of bringing it about—and here possibly I am in disagreement with somebody else—I do not concede that the pattern of government as we know it is an adequate pattern to insure peace. I think that what you are doing by applying one pattern as if it were valid in every set of circumstances is simply making the same mistake that the theories of natural laws of social contracts fell into.

You cannot take a pattern that applies in the individual sphere of relationships and apply it

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to the sphere of completely political relationships on an entirely different level. I do not think that sovereignty is the main obstacle. I think that sovereignty is actually being reduced, piece by piece, here and there. Some shreds of it are falling off every day.

But you talk about the pattern of government—with all the traditions of balance of power and police, you try to apply for the solution of the main problem of our world, a procedure, a pattern, which is being more and more challenged in every part of the world. I do not even concede that your ideal is valid as an ideal. I am looking forward to a political reorganization of the world. I think that with entirely political means it will be possible, through the United Nations, to have a gradual organization of the world in peace, provided the organization that we are looking for is not a government. So I would say in very decided terms, the one thing that we have to ask the United Nations is *not to be* a world government.

MILLER: I want not so much to answer Mr. Ascoli as to clarify what, it seems to me, is the only disagreement between Mr. Straight and Mr. Lerner on one side, and Mr. Reves and myself on the other. It is plainly a question of strategy, and at times we all agree—the four of us at least—that world government is an eventual goal, even a solution, but we seem to disagree about whether you ought to talk about it at this time. When in heaven's name do we start talking about world government? Why don't we start today? We are not running the government of the United States. We are individuals, citizens, we are trying to use our strength—small as it may be—in the most effective way possible. To me, the most effective way is to act now, because it is obvious that the UN as presently constituted cannot possibly succeed.

The only way peace can succeed is through world government some time, and I hope that the diplomats who are running things for the United States will do their best through the United Nations and possibly by direct negotiation to get together on every possible occasion with Russia. But I must say that now I think there is only one way to keep world peace. I am going to say it as often as I can—that ten years from now, when we may have been atomized, the time will suddenly have come to begin talking.

STRAIGHT: Since the UN is inadequate, would you be in favor of introducing amendments through the American delegation to the Assembly in September, to transform the United Nations into a limited world government?

Merle Miller

REVES: No.

MILLER: Yes. I would.

DOLIVET: Do you want to say why you wouldn't, Mr. Reves?

REVES: The men who compose the United Nations are the sworn representatives of national states. They can't produce the transformation—

STRAIGHT: In a democracy they are representatives of the people.

REVES: They are not. They are ambassadors.

LERNER: The word "sovereignty" for Mr. Reves has a curious alchemy which converts what might otherwise be the expression of popular opinion—

STRAIGHT: It has a connotation of contempt. That it does not altogether deserve in representative government.

MILLER: I would disagree with Mr. Reves. I would favor submitting amendments in September, not that I think they would have the slightest possibility of being accepted either by our delegation or any other delegation, but they would have a very definite public relations value. I think they would give the people of the world something to think about.

LERNER: I would like to answer what Mr. Miller said. I wonder whether talking about world government is the aim that we have in view. If talking is a form of self-indulgence or self-expression, Mr. Miller is quite welcome to do all the talking he wants. Anyone has a right to talk to his heart's content on Holy Rollerism or the transmigration of souls or anything else. But I assume that what we are discussing now is the effective organization of public opin-

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Michael Straight

ion, in such a way that you achieve ends that you are driving at through means that give you some hope of achieving them. And the thing that I am challenging is whether the kind of talk which says that only an immediate world government can possibly prevent the next war is effective talk or useful talk in organizing the necessary public opinion.

I think that we ought to think of it in terms of what an ordinary American or an ordinary Frenchman or even an ordinary Russian will think. Would you say to him, "The United Nations must be destroyed in people's minds"?

REVES: If we don't fight this out with words, it is going to be done by bullets.

LERNER: I am now re-stating what I take to be the point of view that only a world government can be an immediate instrument for peace. The United Nations therefore must be destroyed in people's minds as an instrument, and only world government built up in their minds. If we go about it that way the ordinary person will say to himself, "If war cannot be prevented by these efforts to get along with the Russians and the British, then how is it going to be prevented by these very abstract, far-fetched notions of a world government?" He may not put it in exactly those terms. But I think this is the thing he will really feel. And I do submit that one of the crucial things that you have to do is to give ordinary people everywhere the sense that the instrument they have at hand can be strengthened by the force of public opinion.

REVES: Even if you yourself believe it cannot?

LERNER: I believe it can be strengthened, yes.

REVES: Do you think the United Nations, a league of sovereign states, as organized, can be strengthened to a degree to prevent war?

LERNER: I say that it can be strengthened so that you can get a United Nations that works temporarily while you win the time necessary for whittling away the sovereignty that Mr. Ascoli is talking about. If I didn't believe it, I wouldn't be saying it. I say that if you take away from people the belief that the UN can be strengthened and can be transformed, then you leave them with nothing.

And here I would like to come back to something that Mr. Reves said earlier in the discussion and fling it right back at him.

He said that everything that has ever been accomplished in world history has been called impossible at the start. Yet he is himself using the word "impossible" as a stigma for the effort to transform the United Nations into a working instrument of world authority. And I say it is not impossible, and you must not say it is impossible.

REVES: But if it has been tried many times and found impossible . . .

LERNER: Then it is now you who are saying that certain things are impossible. But when somebody else uses the word "impossible" for a scheme of yours, you say that everything that has succeeded has been called impossible.

REVES: What has failed a hundred times we can conclude is impossible. What was tried and has succeeded . . .

LERNER: There has never been an attempt, a conscious attempt, to take an international organization and transform it into a world authority with diminished sovereignty. There never has been.

REVES: That is precisely what happened at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787.

LERNER: The 1787 convention dealt with a national and continental problem. That is a different thing from a conscious attempt to diminish national sovereignty on a world scale.

May I also point out that the 1787 convention was followed by something which did become successful. Let us aim at the same bold success in world terms. I am talking now in terms of moving from "A" where we are now to "C" where we want to get. And I submit that you cannot go from "A" to "C," whether in physics or politics, except by moving through "B." Perhaps I am overhasty about physics. I have heard of the "principle of discontinuity" in physics, which holds that you can jump from "A" to "C" without ever touching "B." But it doesn't work in politics and history shows that.

REVES: You said before that if you tell the people the whole thing, they would not understand it.

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REVES: Don't you think it is much more dangerous and irresponsible to leave the people in the belief that the UN can protect them from the next war, because when it doesn't —and certainly it cannot—that disillusionment will be a catastrophe.

LERNER: I don't think they have the faith that UN can protect them—certainly not the UN as it is presently constituted and functioning. That is not the issue, and I think it is unfair to make that the issue. I don't know any one around the table—and I ask you all whether this is true—who is satisfied with the UN as it is functioning at present. That is not the issue. There is a widespread skepticism—I won't say "disillusionment"—on the part of the people about the UN. To be disillusioned, you must start with an illusion, and they didn't start with an illusion. They did at the time of the League of Nations, and got disillusioned. As a result of that, the people didn't even have the illusion

LERNER: I am a newspaper man and I travel around somewhat.

REVES: I received 4,000 letters on that specific subject, and I do not think that the people cannot understand, given an explanation of the problem. I think that the people are much further ahead in their thinking than many statesmen and many newspaper editors believe.

ASCOLI: Father Coughlin received even more letters, I am sure. How can you weigh the response to an idea from the total weight of the letters you receive?

REVES: It depends upon who writes them and what they contain.

MILLER: I have heard very few people who believe in world government talking about the destruction of the United Nations—none believe in its destruction.

LERNER: Destruction of the *concept* of the United Nations.

LERNER: I didn't say that. I said you must not destroy the people's confidence that they can make something out of the only instrument that they have at hand. That is what I said. And I repeat anyone who undertakes to destroy that confidence is doing an irresponsible thing.

REVES: You are talking like the church in the 14th and 15th centuries—it is "dangerous" to destroy an existing faith . . .

ASCOLI: Somebody has a direct wire with God.

LERNER: And it is not I.

REVES: I don't know what experience you had recently in talking about these things with the common people.

during, and after the second world war. As a result they are watching critically, to see whether this thing can be made to work. They are looking for direction—to statesmen, to publicists, to professors, to journalists, etc.—and we have the responsibility of giving them the kind of direction which does not destroy in their minds the belief that something can be done with the instruments at hand.

I will go on to say that those instruments must be transformed into a world society; that is very important. I am not a United Nations man in the orthodox sense of believing that the United Nations as presently constituted is adequate. But it is a means to a goal. Let's be clear about that.

ASCOLI: About disillusionment—that is one of the things that bothered me the most about the whole world government. I do not question for a moment—I am glad to say this, because in the discussion we have gotten a little bit heated.

LERNER: We can't think without being heated.

REVES: I asked the Chairman before we began if there was an ambulance handy.

ASCOLI: But the people who are for world government—so many of them—are liberally minded people.

LERNER: Many of them are. Some are not.

REVES: What do you call a liberal? I think I am one, but how do you define it?

ASCOLI: The high priest of liberalism here is Michael Straight. I suppost a liberal can be considered an individual who is not satisfied with the existing conditions of the economic or political situation, and who wants to have them improved, in the sense of improving the lot of the largest number of people.

DOLIVET: What do you fear in this?

ASCOLI: What I wanted to say is that particularly of those who are liberal, I see something which is very dangerous, because it seems . . .

REVES: Nothing is dangerous for a liberal.

ASCOLI: . . . a menacing repetition of what happened at the end of the last war. There was a wave of disillusionment that became a wave of cynicism. By such moves, we are simply going to have mass production of tired liberals or tired idealists who will make a new lost generation. If that is what we want, we have found the formula.

The second part of this Round Table will be continued in the next issue, with comments by leading newspapermen and others.

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NIKOLAI M. SHVERNIK

President of USSR

by **MAX MANDELLAUB**

Relatively little known outside his own country, Nikolai M. Shvernik is one of the few powerful figures in the Soviet Union. In this article Mr. Mandellaub provides our readers with a compact profile of the Chairman of the Soviet's Presidium.

NIKOLAI MIKHAILOVICH SHVERNIK, recently elected to replace Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin as "President" of the Soviet Union, is one of the junior members of the "Old Bolshevik Guard," which he joined in his early boyhood. In 1917, after 15 years as an underground fighter, Shvernik was still young enough to become a genuine representative of the new type of man emerging from the October Revolution. In 1946, at the age of 58, he truly exemplifies two Russian generations, that which made the Revolution and that which was molded by it.

When the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Russian equivalent of our Congress, announced the resignation of ailing, 70-year-old Kalinin, Shvernik, the "Old Man's" first deputy, was next in line of succession since 1944. Vassily V. Kuznetsov, a member of the Russian delegation at San Francisco last year and one of the strongest Soviet supporters of Russian-American friendship, was the "Shvernik for President" campaign leader. His candidate was elected by a unanimous vote of the Supreme Soviet at a joint sitting of the Chambers on March 19 of this year.

The designation "President of the Soviet Union" has been created by non-Soviet writers. In the Constitution of the USSR there is nowhere a stipulation conferring that title or entrusting a particular person with the function of a "head of state." In actuality the USSR has no president, but a presidential committee called the Presidium, composed of 42 men assigned to various functions, each allowed but one vote on every decision.

Kalinin was for 27 years, and Shvernik now is, chairman of this committee which changed names several times until it became known as the Presidium. It compares in some respects with the standing committees of the United States Congress. Its personnel is chosen by a vote of the entire parliamentary body of the Soviet Union. Its political weight and legal delimitations, however, are quite different from those of our Congressional committees. It is a kind of "super Parliament" during the period in which the Supreme Soviet is not in session. It has some functions similar to that of our Supreme Court but in principle it is accountable to the Supreme Soviet for all its activities.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt exchanged letters with Mikhail I. Kalinin after the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two Republics, he addressed the Russian as "My dear Mr. President," assuming that he who officially receives a newly appointed foreign diplomat must be the head of State.

In reality the Presidium is at the same time more and less than the American presidency. The chairman is not the chief, or even a member of, the Cabinet. Yet in certain cases the Presidium interprets laws in operation and may, on its own initiative, conduct referendums. The Soviet government is not just a presidential system of government. Delegation of power in the USSR follows a unique pattern. The "President" is surrounded by a staff which shares all responsibilities with him but which he cannot appoint or dismiss at will.

The chairman of the Presidium appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign states, receives the credentials and letters of foreign diplomats in Moscow, awards decorations, confers titles of honor and ratifies international treaties.

MAX MANDELLAUB is a writer on International affairs. Dr. Mandellaub's articles have appeared in several former issues of FREE WORLD Magazine.

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One of Shvernik's first official duties was to receive the American Ambassador, Walter Bedell Smith, who presented his letters of credence last April 3. Lieutenant General Bedell Smith and former metal worker Shvernik conducted the ceremony with the skill of well-trained diplomats. The eight American and seven Russian participants retired when Shvernik informally invited the Ambassador to have a private talk with him and Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky, who was at hand for the occasion. Later Vyshinsky, on the Russian side, did most of the talking, while Shvernik remained in the background not trying to overstep the function of receiving a representative of a foreign power.

Shvernik is a strong personality and will play even a greater role than his predecessor in office who proved that the chairmanship of the Presidium carries with it considerable political influence.

Many foreign observers wrongly described Kalinin as "a man holding nothing but a decorative function." On the contrary he played an important part in many Soviet controversies. He was a staunch supporter of Stalin against Trotsky after the death of Lenin. He had a direct influence in appointing and removing the higher commands of the Red Army before and during the war. His voice was frequently determinative in setting the path for the agrarian collectivization. After the German surrender Kalinin devoted himself to the question of Russia's demobilization. The preliminary laws referring to "jobs for veterans" were outlined, recommended and pushed through by him. During the last two years he looked on Shvernik as his closest collaborator in the Presidium, even inducing Shvernik to give up the post of Secretary General of the All Russian Trade Unions. Thus Nikolai Shvernik was well prepared to take over the official duties of the Presidium chairmanship.

Shvernik conforms to the pattern of a Russian industrial worker as much as Kalinin was in appearance the prototype of a "muzhik." Russia's growth in 29 years from a preponderantly agricultural to an industrialized country, finds a symbolic illustration in the recent change of "Presidents." Shvernik stands with both feet on the firm ground of the new Soviet machine shops.

His father was a worker in the industrial suburbs of czarist St. Petersburg. Here Nikolai was born on May 19, 1888. He spent his childhood in the oppressive atmosphere of an orphan's home where the priests tried in vain to teach him to pray for the Czar. He knew only one prayer: that for his "liberation," which came when he was 14 and was sent to an electro-mechanical plant as a turner's apprentice. At the factory he met revolutionary workers who taught him the ABC's of czarist Russia's politics and introduced him to the socialist circles where the city's intelligentsio conducted a vigorous educational campaign. These Russian metal workers had developed an aggressive trade union movement. Their strikes had

Sovfoto

NIKOLAI SHVERNIK

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

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grown into political actions challenging the autocratic Romanov dynasty.

Soon Shvernik participated in organizing his fellow apprentices. By the time of the 1905 Revolution he was a member of the bolshevik wing in the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

The temporary setback of the 1905 Revolution did not discourage Shvernik. Lenin taught his followers to draw the historical lesson from this failure, correct the mistakes of the labor movement, and by correcting them make a future revolutionary success possible. The Russians were learning the bloody business of revolution, as did the Americans in 1776 and the French in 1789. Just as Thomas Paine generations ago, so the revolutionary leaders in the country of the Romanovs proclaimed that the people had to find the technique of their liberation through an ocean of blunder, mistakes and defeat.

Shvernik remained as a member of the illegal factory committee in St. Petersburg. At different times he assumed aliases but none clung to him and his real name, of Ukrainian origin, stubbornly defended its birthright.

IN 1910 the Ochrana, the czarist secret police, discovered the widespread illegal organization in St. Petersburg and arrested hundreds of workers and students. Shvernik went into hiding and eventually was forced to leave the city. He went south and continued his revolutionary activity among the workers of Nikolaev, one of the centers of Russia's manganese industry. A year later he returned to his native town, resuming his former party contacts and carrying on with increased determination.

A steady flow of illegal newspapers and pamphlets printed abroad and at home, exhorted the Russian revolutionaries to prepare for the coming world conflict. In the last year of peace, 1913, Shvernik, at the age of 25 already a front-line veteran of Russia's "professional revolutionaries," was arrested, jailed for seven months and then exiled to Tula where he worked in a gun factory.

He did not stay there long. At the beginning of the first World War he went to Samara (today Kuibishev), took a job in a steel mill and promptly organized trade unions and bolshevik workers' committees. His indefatigable efforts to unify the numerous anti-czarist groups in the provincial city earned him the respect of his co-workers, who elected him leader in one of the great strikes of 1916 which paralyzed the economic activity of Samara, an important traffic juncture.

This time the czarist police acted swiftly and thoroughly. The whole strike committee was arrested, including Shvernik. After a few months in jail he was expelled from the city and warned never to come back.

In less than a hundred days he did come back, when the Kerenski Revolution swept Russia. Young Shvernik was popular in Samara. True, he was not a brilliant tribune. His name did not make headlines in the international press. But his tenacity and organizational talent made him a leading figure in the revolutionary council which took over the local government of Samara.

The months between February and October 1917 were crowded with an incessant struggle for power among anarchists, socialists, liberals, communists, and the remnants of the old regime which tried to exploit the existing confusion to re-establish the autocratic regime. Shvernik's party did not yet have a majority in the province but its simple program of "land, peace and bread" attracted the landless peasants, the war-weary soldiers and the breadless factory workers.

When the bolsheviks took over in Petrograd, the province was ready to follow. The city of Samara quickly ousted the followers of Kerenski and set up a new city council, which elected Shvernik mayor.

The new mayor, who had never served in the czarist army, was soon called upon to lead armed workers and peasants against the reactionary Czech Generals Gayda and Sirovy, whose troops were strung out along the Trans-Siberian railroad from Kazan to Vladivostok. In their attempt to overthrow the Soviet Government, the Czechs were coming down the Volga River approaching Samara from the North. Shvernik went to the front as a political commissar of the people's militia. He not only supervised the strict execution of orders and maintenance of military discipline, but also participated in the actual fighting. Again in 1919 he fought the counter-revolutionary forces of General Denikin which were threatening the Soviet Republic from the South.

SHVERNIK remained basically a civilian without the ambition to become a Red Army man. His short military career did not reveal any outstanding strategic talent nor extraordinary gift for leading men into battle. He did his job, as stubbornly and courageously as he had organized workers' committees and underground groups. The years as metal worker had made him a part of Russia's industrial laborers.

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He spoke their language, shared their emotions and hopes. He was shaped by the hard school of their experiences, which were his own. He has the strong fists and large shoulders of a man who has been used to swinging the hammer and beating the metals.

His intelligent face reminds one of an elementary schoolteacher. He himself had little formal schooling but his active mind understood what he heard and read, and he heard much and read more. He knew from the writings of Friedrich Engels the history of England's industrial revolution and the German Peasant War; he had studied the Socialist interpretation of history and the classical philosophies of Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach, which preceded Marx's dialectical materialism. He had not neglected the rich literature of his native country, from the Decembrists to Lenin, from Tolstoy to Gorki.

The new Soviet Regime badly needed men like Shvernik. No wonder his career after the Civil War continued as that of a party and trade union man. He headed the Metal Workers' Regional Committee in the Donbas area. In 1925 he was elected secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the Communist Party, against fierce opposition from Sinoviev, Trotsky and their followers. A year later Shvernik became a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the most important of all communist parties in the Soviet Union.

Step by step Shvernik climbed the ladder of the bolshevik administrative hierarchy. He was a People's Commissar of Workers and Peasant Inspection at the age of 35, later a chairman of the Council of Nationalities, a kind of Soviet Senate. In the meantime, he held a series of important positions in regional and central party as well as trade union organizations. From 1930 to 1944 he was secretary-general of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions and in that capacity became a figure of national and international significance.

THE Soviet Trade Unions under Shvernik's leadership underwent considerable change. At a party Congress in June 1930, he proposed a resolution defining the basic Soviet concept of Russian trade unionism as a "movement which, under a Social regime, concentrates its energies upon the industrialization of the country, upon higher productivity which will ultimately improve working conditions." Later, at a plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Shvernik initiated a new labor policy with emphasis on labor protection, social insurance, labor efficiency, education and recreation of the workers.

In 1936 Shvernik published a book on the Socialist concept of labor rights, which was followed a year later by a study on improved working methods through the so-called Socialist competition among individuals or entire groups of factory workers. In numerous articles published in "Trud," the official Trade Union paper, he discussed the daily issues and problems of his nation's 27 million organized workers, trying to integrate the tasks of each trade union branch in the general production program of a planned economy.

With World War II approaching, Shvernik streamlined the whole trade union system of the USSR to meet the requirements of total warfare. His contribution toward achieving the tremendous production increases required by military needs made him one of the most respected technicians in the Soviet economic administration. He studied efficiency methods of the United States and Great Britain, and his knowledge of the practical aspects of war production surprised many delegates of the British Trade Union Congress which he attended early in 1942. There he made an urgent appeal to British workers to speed up production of tanks and airplanes, an admonition which was resented at that time by a number of British Trade Union leaders.

In one aspect Shvernik differs from the majority of Russia's revolutionary elite. He combines his skill for handling purely domestic affairs with a large view and experience in international affairs. He knows Geneva, Paris, London, Prague, not as a diplomat, not as a political agitator or observer, but as a spokesman for his country's organized workers, and he is ready to find a common ground with other labor unions regardless of national difference and political traditions. As a member of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committe, founded during the early part of World War II, he emphasized that a world trade union movement was necessary, not as a tool of world revolution, but as a guarantee of permanent peace in lending support to the coming United Nations organization.

The new position of Nikolai M. Shvernik excludes him from being active in the world federation of labor, toward the establishment of which he had dedicated so many years of his life. He is now faced with new tasks of higher responsibility and larger scope in both the national and international field. Relatively unknown outside his own country, he is one of the few powerful figures in the Soviet Union.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

by MAX BEER

THE Chamber of the Security Council is closed and silent. There is, indeed, no meeting today about Iran or Spain; no quarrel about veto procedure; no delegate will walk out; no member criticize power politics. In contemplating the empty campus of Hunter College, which is deserted by the crowd of journalists, film and radio operators, one can almost believe that the United Nations have taken a vacation, that no problems exist for the peoples of the world.

However, in one of the grey school buildings which try to resemble dignified British castles, in an unadorned room which formerly was the college library, a dozen people are seated around a table, talking quietly and simply without any pretense at formality.

It might well be, though, that one day people will say that this quiet first session of the Commission on Human Rights—for it is that Commission which deliberates in so discreet a manner—has provided the most sensational story of our times. It might well be that history will record that this quiet group, composed of grave and scholarly experts from France, Russia, Belgium, Norway, Yugoslavia, Peru, China and India and presided over in a very gracious manner by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, has come nearer than the more pompous and agitated Security Council to the solution of the fundamental problems facing the United Nations.

Perhaps there is an excuse for those who ignore this modest meeting or underestimate its importance. The Charter of the United Nations, indeed, did not emphasize the true significance of the Commission on Human Rights. In the structure of the second League of Nations, the Security Council occupies the most spectacular place. It is this body which has to maintain peace and security. Its counterpart, the Economic and Social Council, is only in charge of international cooperation in the non-political field, performing its work through contacts with a series of autonomous international organizations and through six committees, of which five deal with economy and employment, statistics, transportation, narcotic drugs and social problems and one with human rights—with a sub-committee on the status of women. If we consider that this Commission on Human Rights, which is responsible to the Economic and Social Council, which in turn depends on the General Assembly, is only entitled to make studies and recommendations —then, of course, no comparison seems possible, at first glance, between such an advisory body and the all-powerful Security Council.

BUT the original hierarchical relationship established at San Francisco among the United Nations organisms is already fading. Even the most traditional diplomat, from the moment that he begins to tackle practically the problems of human rights, can no longer overlook the fact that the solution of these problems not only belongs to the secondary task of the United Nations: non-political cooperation—but also to its primary task: maintenance of peace and security by preventing or settling situations which can lead to a breach of the peace. People might have forgotten during the secret diplomatic four-power conference of Dumbarton Oaks, and even during the larger discussions at San Francisco, that World War II originated with the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in one country and the passivity of the other countries in the face of these violations. But now that there exists a Commission on Human Rights, small and limited in its functions though it may be, and that it has started its work, the vastness of the task and its immense implications become dramatically visible.

It is true that the work of the Commission, under its terms of reference, shall be directed only to "submitting proposals, recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council regarding an international bill of rights, international declarations or conventions on civil liberties, freedom of information and similar matters, the protection of minorities, the prevention of discrimination on

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grounds of race, sex, language or religion." But at the very first meeting, the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations in charge of problems of human rights, M. Henri Laugier, pointed out that the task of the Commission is much more embracing:

"You will have to seek for the bases of a fundamental declaration of rights, acceptable to all the United Nations and accepted by them, and the acceptance of which would become the indispensable condition for admission into the international Community."

Finally the Commission, in its report, emphasized the need for an "agency of implementation" and suggested that pending the establishment of such an agency the Commission might aid the Security Council in the task entrusted to it by article 29 of the Charter (determine the existence of any threat to peace and decide what measures shall be taken), "by pointing to cases where violations of human rights may constitute a threat to peace." The Commission further recommended the establishment of a "Sub-commission on Freedom of Information" and declared that study of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials might be important in the field of human rights.

There arose only one significant difficulty —the Soviet delegate wanted the eighteen members of the future Commission — (elected for three years and re-eligible)—not simply to represent "humanity" but to act strictly as representatives of their governments.

Thus, during its first session, the original "nucleus" Commission, which was supposed primarily to settle organizational matters, as the composition of the future definite commission—eighteen members elected for three years and re-eligible, with a system of experts and corresponding members—was led immediately to explore the ideological depths of its constantly growing task. Thus, finally, there seems to be no discrapancy between the atmosphere in which this Commission worked and the atmosphere brought into the library of Hunter College by the progressive organizations which were invited to present their ideas and suggestions.

IDEAS and suggestions which seemed to be Utopian in the period between Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco appear now to be quite close to those voiced by this official United Nations body. For example, the representatives of the International League for the Rights of Man asked that two bills of rights be drafted: the first would embrace those rights the violations of which would endanger peace and security and be recognized directly by the Security Council as a matter of international concern to be defended with all the force at the disposal of that Council; the second would contain all other human rights necessary for the welfare of the people, which might be considered of domestic concern and be dealt with in international conventions. They asked, further, that this Commission should be a permanent body linked directly with the Security listening to these proposals, did not give the Council. The members of the Commission, in impression that they regarded them as "Utopian." The walls between political and non-political, between international and domestic problems, are beginning to crack. The demand for complete protection of fundamental human rights is knocking imperiously at the doors of the Security Council. Tomorrow, perhaps the violation of such rights in some country of the world will be opposed as strongly as the violation of a frontier between two nations. The Commission on Human Rights, like the third estate, on the eve of the French Revolution, was supposed to be "nothing"; some day it will be "all."

But is there really a revolution under way at Hunter College? The Chairman of the Commission, Mrs. Roosevelt, who was so closely associated with the work of the initiator of the United Nations, will certainly not gainsay us when we point out that we are witnessing the normal evolution of President Roosevelt's ideals. When the first League of Nations collapsed and it seemed that there never would be a second one, Franklin D. Roosevelt began his patient work of building up a new international organization for peace and security, not by making blueprints of councils, assemblies, courts, military staff committees, secretariats and so on, but by proclaiming his Four Freedoms, without any hint of any future organizational structure. These freedoms were the new league in a nutshell. Then in Moscow, in Teheran, at Dumbarton Oaks, in Yalta and in San Francisco, the organizational aspects took such supersedence that the original ideal seemed to become submerged.

In the modest Commission, working in a forgotten schoolroom in the Bronx, men and women of good-will have now undertaken to lead us back to Franklin D. Roosevelt's first vision of the United Nations: in spite of many difficulties, traditions and prejudices they are trying—and we all must help them in this historical endeavor—to place in the very center of the vast United Nations architecture the defense of human freedoms and human rights.

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FREE SPEECH

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

FREE WORLD in Parcels To Europe

"You remember I know, that Theo Van Gogh's son was named after Vincent. Young Theo, the present Vincent's son, was in the underground. He was picked up twice but the family bought him out. The German S.S. was very corrupt they say. But the third time he was executed. I have been sending over boxes of clothing and books to young Theo's comrades in the University as a kind of memorial. They are very hungry for really intellectual material from America, and I have been trying to send things they might not otherwise see. I think very highly of FREE WORLD and read it entirely through every month. I gathered up what copies I had for the first box and Vincent Van Gogh writes that the family read them and then they went on to the University.

"I am also sending them to two young women doctors in Amsterdam, who are of the family; and to a pastor and his wife in a little backwater town in the Zuider Zee.

"Are there, by any chance, extra copies of FREE WORLD, a larger printing than was necessary, which you would like to have to go to highly thoughtful people in Holland?"

MADGE JENISON
New York.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This is one of the typical letters we receive, and the service costs* FREE WORLD *approximately $500.00 a month. If anyone should wish to help in this good work back copies may be bought for 25¢ each and money may be sent for us to forward the copies, or they may be bought and forwarded by the purchaser.*

For World Federation

"Modern military technique has made a world society divided along nationalist lines *impossible*.

"Modern speed of travel and communication has made World Federation *possible*.

"The United Nations already has made this *probable*.

"It is the first duty of everybody everywhere to make it *certain*.

"We are not starting out at the beginning of a long crusade. Three-fourths of it is accomplished, for we already have the necessity, the potentiality and the obligation. The fourth and final step, realization, is all we lack.

"Why can't we have Articles of World Federation ready to sign on the anniversary of the first test of the atomic bomb, July 16, 1946?

"And why not drop all holidays celebrating national independence out of deference to this universal holiday?"

ERSKINE WILLIAMS
Henderson, Kentucky.

A Plea for Objectivity

"Your editorial in the May issue is extremely valuable. You have laid down those broad over-all principles which are imperative fundamentals and attitudes on the part of all if we are ever to build a United Nations.

"Your analyses of the positions and attitudes of the three major nations is eminently fair and at the same time most enlightening. Unless the several countries in UN are willing to recognize some such yardstick our hope of unity vanishes. The past two months we have had an ex parte interest on the part of the United States, Great Britain and some other countries of trying to 'convict' Russia of all the crimes there are in the world. UN overlooks the tyranny and oppression of British troops in Indonesia and allows Britain and the Dutch to continue their infamy there while Russia is pursued night and day until she gets out of Iran. We are not going to build a free world by applying fundamental principles to one nation and allow others to go free.

"It should be published time and again before the world that this analysis shows Great Britain at fault 7 times, Russia 7 times, and the United States 4 times. Such aggressions have been the source of war and misery in our world for many decades."

JOSEPH G. MASTERS
Smethport, Pennsylvania.

A Note From the R.A.F.

"I thank you for the card telling me the news that I am to receive your magazine for the next twelve months through the kindness of an American friend. I am now looking for a British magazine to send him.

"The strengthening of relations is always necessary if we are to reap the rewards of victory. In England we need your magazines.

L.A.C. - R.A.F.

FRED STURN

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THE PEOPLE SPEAK

by J. ALVIN KUGELMASS

Our readers will, of course, remember the series on the Underground Reports published regularly in FREE WORLD. *In this article Mr. Kugelmass demonstrates how the little people speak up*

WHEN the doll heads came from the bake kilns to the assembly line where arms, legs and bodies were to be added, the workers in the German factory blinked at what they saw.

Two months later, Karl Diebl, 56, owner of the factory, was sentenced to three years in the concentration camp for "expressing disapproval of the Third Reich."

Karl Diebl's dolls committed the unpardonable error of looking dour. Not only did these dolls of his not smile, as do dolls the world over, or even look lugubrious, but these were downright melancholic. Ineffable tragedy and despair was plainly marked on the porcelain faces.

That was Karl Diebl's way of rebelling against Nazi Germany, for, as he told the court: "There was no reason why the dolls in this accursed land should smile when the children who play with them are unsmiling."

When the people are oppressed, denied expression, somehow they always find a way. In Karl Diebl there was a thrust for freedom as there is in all persons who have tasted freedom. His dolls were called "propaganda" by the rigged court, yet actually he was editorializing as have courageous editors of great newspapers.

UP the centuries, verbal revolt has taken curious and even heartbreaking forms when tyranny rode the land. The people will speak if only in devious and furtive ways. But speak, they will.

In Czechoslovakia, in Greece, Rumania and in France, wherever the fascist boot denied freedom of speech a custom arose among the farmers that was to send German soldiery to plucking daisies and dandelions all over the landscape. No one knows where it began, but in the spring of 1942 seeds were sown on embankments against the roadsides. These seeds were sown at night and were eked out seed by seed, carefully, with a meticulousness unknown to any planting.

As the sun shone hotly on the embankments, the seeds burst, sent up stalks and flowers. And there against the roadside for all to see, the gay flowers spelled this message: "Down With Hitler." Or "V To The Allies." And this in all the European languages from Hungarian to Flemish. The farmer, likely the most individualistic of the human species, was expressing himself.

THE people will speak even if the tyrant doesn't understand, so instinctive is the craving for freedom. From China, there was reported the "Rice Cake Episode." In Hunan Province, in a small town, the Japs marched in and ordered the elders of the village to pay homage to the conqueror. The elders stroked their beards, talked softly among themselves, and took a page out of Lao-Tze, the great Chinese philosopher who once wrote: "When you speak to a dog, don't speak his language."

Nine-hundred persons in the village were slaughtered because the elders strove to express their contempt. When the rice cakes were served with the wine to the Jap overlords, the characters on the cakes said this: "Choke, you splay-toed barbarian." The rice cakes also bore this message: "May your tongue rot, ye who partake of this cake baked by the hands of free people." Also: "May the feet who molest our rice fields from which we draw our sustenance never tread again their homeland."

Rice cakes are part of the Chinese ritual and are served at every formal occasion with proper inscriptions bevelled on the surface. A few days later, a Chinese renegade told the Japs

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about the subtle and very Oriental insults. His translations caused the wholesale murder of the villagers. But the elders were content for they died knowing they had struck a blow no matter how feeble.

Even with silence there is a manner of speaking. In Amsterdam and in gutted Rotterdam, the population was ordered to line the curbs on Horst Wessel Day, the racketeer who became a German hero by Nazi standards. Line the curbs they did when the might of the German armies went by, but there was a great hush. Company after company paraded down the avenues. Tanks rumbled and horses pranced. Armored motorcycles snorted and grumbled and the thick tires of rolling howitzers slushed on the pavements. But from the people there was no sound. The Nazi soldiery got uneasy and looked guiltily about. But the tens of thousands on the curbs remained mute. That was expression and of a devastating kind. Orders came from Berlin to cease formal parades for the great silence spoke with tongues too articulate.

UNDERGROUND newspapers and floating radio stations are of course unsung sagas. The perils of obtaining paper and illicit presses and inks is a tale in heroics that make sissies out of spy thrillers. But these are the normal channels of rebellion; the customary voices of this century. More fascinating is the telling of one youngster who disseminated the illegal press that told of Allied victories, news of which had been kept from the people of Vienna.

This tyke, aged eleven, rigged up a water balance, a can with a hole in the bottom that permitted sixty drops a minute to emerge. As the water in the can ebbed, a stake propped against the roof rim of a high building lowered. Fastened to the stake with a loose string was a pile of underground newspapers. The water dripped, the stake lowered, the force of gravity released the newspapers, and over the city of Vienna fluttered news that had come in the day before via short wave from London. Long before, though, the lad had skipped home and reported to papa that all was well.

And that is how the people spoke for almost five years under the Nazi yoke.

When the housewives went shopping in the city of Oslo, their herrings were wrapped in brown paper. Herrings are important to the Norwegians, but at that time the brown paper meant more than nourishment. For on the reverse side, smelling very fishy and a fishy job it was according to fascist regulations, was an almost complete newspaper. Headlines and all, the brown paper told how Munich had been raided by 5,000 planes; how Kiel had been blasted and Berlin was a shambles. The paper was aptly named: *Sniffs From Abroad.*

MENUS in Europe will become collector's items. They too told the story of verbal revolt. Ersatz veal cutlets made of soy beans and shortening were labelled "Achtung, Lieber Gott" which means, "Attention, For The Love Of God." These menus were appropriated by the Gestapo and restaurant owners arrested by the score for "insulting the war effort."

Even the streetcleaners joined in the anti-fascist movement. In Prague, they would wield their brushes and sing out until the good wives would double over in merriment on their window sills: "The pigs ate on the first mess. Here, people of Prague, are vitamins for your children."

Under the Roman Empire, the people also spoke. Under the Ghengis Khan, they barely breathed. Under tyrants scattered through pages of history, at times they whimpered when they spoke; at other times they talked up bravely, sometimes brazenly. But expression will out when freedom has once been known. History, the teacher of us all, knows this lesson: No longer is it possible to enslave, for the word has gone forth. There are simply too many persons who can read and write. And the readers and the writers will tell the truth, no matter how dexterously it needs to be told, so long as there be humanity to revolt against suppression. Freedom of the press and of the spoken word has had too many victories ever again to be submerged, no matter how efficient the bullies.

Due to unforseen circumstances there has been a delay in the article on a Program for America by James Roosevelt. This article will appear in the July issue of FREE WORLD.

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Why should dolls smile in a country where children cannot?

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DAMMING "CHINA'S SORROW"

ON the broad, agriculturally rich plain through which the Yellow River winds like a sluggish snake from its Tibetan headwaters, three miles above sea level, a race against time for the fate of 8,000,000 is being enacted.

Sixteen miles beyond Kaifeng American technicians and engineers are helping the 150,000 Chinese laborers pit their skill and strength against the turbulent and menacing river whose yearly floods have earned for it the all-too-accurate title of "China's Sorrow." The battle thousands of acres of rich farm lands, drowning is age-old and has never yet been won. This time, however, there is promise of success for UNRRA has backed it with funds and all the technical "know-how" it can muster, for this, its largest project—the closing of the mile-long "Main Break" in the dykes which formerly protected one of the earth's most populous areas from the rampaging river.

"China's Sorrow" has figured prominently in the history of the Chinese people. Its vast silt-enriched valley was the birthplace of the Chinese people and the cradle of their civilization. Its waters supply the crops that feed the more than 100,000,000 souls who populate the plain. The river has periodically overflowed its shallow banks, inundating hundreds of thousands and leaving countless thousands to die of resulting famine and epidemics.

In the spring of 1938 Japan's armies, under Lieutenant General Kenji Doihara, "The Lawrence of Manchuria" (now on trial before an international tribunal in Tokyo for war crimes), crossed the Yellow River in a sudden thrust and cut the Lunghai railroad above Lanfeng in a drive intended to crush China's resistance finally and completely.

VALIQUETTE M. RUNDLE is at present stationed in Shanghai. Besides being the wife of the Manager of the United Press in Shanghai, Mrs. Rundle is a writer in her own right.

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(*Phot. Guillemette*)

Can the sweat and blood of hundreds of thousands of Chinese laborers harness the Yellow River in time?

by
VALIQUETTE M. RUNDLE

Mrs. Rundle's account comes directly from China and helps us get a vision of the terrific struggle for survival against the ravages of nature now that the war against the Japs has terminated. If the project succeeds China will be able to provide wheat, rice and cotton for starving millions.

Hankow, which was then capital, and most of China's remaining industry were directly and seriously threatened. At this point China called upon her ancient "sorrow" to be her savior.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek ordered General Shang Chen, commander of the Chinese 39th Army to execute a bold and costly plan, long held in abeyance, to cut the Yellow River dykes and loose a flood barrier against the Japanese. It was a bargain for time to save and regroup the harassed Chinese armies and to remove to the hinterlands the industry on which those armies depended.

On the afternoon of May 11, 1938, as a Japanese advance force approached Huayuankow, Chinese engineers set off dynamite charges which ripped a 200-yard gap in the dykes which protected the ancient farmlands from flood. Slowly at first, and then with a mighty rush of swirling ochre waters, the river surged through the breach, widened it, and spread a many-forked tongue of water ahead of the advancing Japanese-trapping tanks and guns in the expanding quagmire and drowning advance units of Japanese soldiers. The Japanese were stopped and one of the gravest threats to China had been stayed. But at what cost!

The river's price for having saved China from a crushing defeat by the Japanese has been well nigh incalcuable in life and property. A recent Chinese survey gave the following figures:

12 cities and 4,000 villages inundated;

More than 7,000,000 acres of fertile lands flooded;

More than 2,500,000 farmers driven from their soil;

200,000,000 people affected directly or indirectly;

A yearly loss of crops amounting to 875,000 long tons of wheat, 605,000 long tons of rice and other grain, and 22,500 long tons of cotton;

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Property damage estimated at well over $2,000,000,000.

Untold thousands dead in flood and famine.

AS China takes up the tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation, the returning of the river to its original channel has been given first priority among the major projects to help restore China's economic equilibrium and bring relief to the millions of its suffering population.

The need is great. For the past eight years the diverted river has flowed out of control. Its continually shifting waters have repeatedly brought disaster to Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsu provinces. Spreading treacherously and unpredictably across field, village and city it has become numerous menacing streams rather than one. Some are narrow torrents so swift and dangerous that they cannot be navigated by the junks which carry the bulk of China's inland commerce. Some move ponderously in beds ten to twenty miles wide. Its multiple branches have carved outlets to the Yangtze and Hwai rivers, to the Grand Canal, to Lake Hunchih and to the Yellow Sea.

In its path the river has left 8,000,000 in immediate need of some form of relief. Of these more than 2,000,000 are in a desperate plight.

Time is the essential element that will determine whether these eight millions will face starvation, disease and death, and other tens of millions will face hunger and privation.

"Every seventh year is a high flood year . . . and this is the seventh year," said a recent report by John E. Hamilton of Baltimore, Maryland, engineer assigned to the project.

The target for completion of the huge task of closing the breach is late June. By then the river will have reached high flood. Unless the gap is securely closed by then, months of work and vast expenditures of money will be swept away.

The harnessing of the willful river is the joint undertaking of UNRRA and the Chinese government. Laborers—150,000 at a time—are being supplied by CNRRA (Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). UNRRA is supplying the required materials and mechanical equipment, as well as flour to feed the laborers. The Chinese government has appropriated five billion Chinese dollars for purchase of local supplies and materials and to meet administrative expenses.

FIGHTING the river required vast quantities of crushed rock to weigh down the heavy wire netting used to hold the barriers in place. One thousand Chinese workers were being used to blast and pry the needed rock from quarries at Hsin Hsian, 16 miles away.

Faced with a crisis as the ice went out and the river rose, the harassed engineers decided that only one solution was possible. The quarries which were being worked from dawn to dusk would have to be worked at night. But that required lights—powerful floodlights—to illuminate the quarries for the coolies and farmers who had been rallied from the countryside for the added task. Furthermore they must be floodlights that could operate without electric power. None were available in the rice-bowl of China. Additional stores of T.N.T. blasting caps and fuses were also needed.

Urgent telegrams were sent to Shanghai. Procurement officers from UNRRA called upon the Foreign Liquidation Commission, only to learn that no lights of the type required had been declared surplus. Neither had the necessary explosives. Both, however, were available in U. S. Army depots (as part of the equipment intended for the invasion of Japan). Could they be obtained?

The Foreign Liquidation Commission learned from the Port Command that the needed supplies were scheduled to be declared surplus. The lights were of the type required—portable units fed by carbide gas.

The urgency was explained and the FLC agreed to dispense with official red-tape and make immediate delivery. That night a train pulled out of Shanghai's north station with the essential equipment aboard. One crisis had been met. But engineers and technicians know there will be others before the mammoth job is done.

The river diversion project is described by engineers as one of the largest ever undertaken and few if any of such magnitude have ever been attempted in face of so uncompromising a time limit.

To meet the construction schedule trainloads of construction machinery, food, clothing and medical supplies are being sent daily to Kaifeng—the first relief supplies to reach the area in fourteen years.

Normally even emergency repairs of the proportions involved would remain in the surveying and planning stage for six months. Yet this job must be done by June, or millions of Chinese will face another year of misery, famine and death.

TO combine relief with reconstruction the program has been set upon a work relief plan. Laborers, drawn from the flood and famine impoverished countryside, are being paid for their

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work in food supplied through UNRRA. An allotment of 50,000 tons of flour has been set aside for this purpose.

Stone for the project is carried to the dykes on the backs of coolies, by river boats, over a dirt road which is constantly wetted down to prevent the dry shifting soil—high in volcanic ash content—from becoming hopelessly rutted, and over an improvised spur railroad. Giant 60 to 65 foot piles are being driven for use with thousands of tons of limestone and heavy "Mississippi" flood mats to hold the river in check.

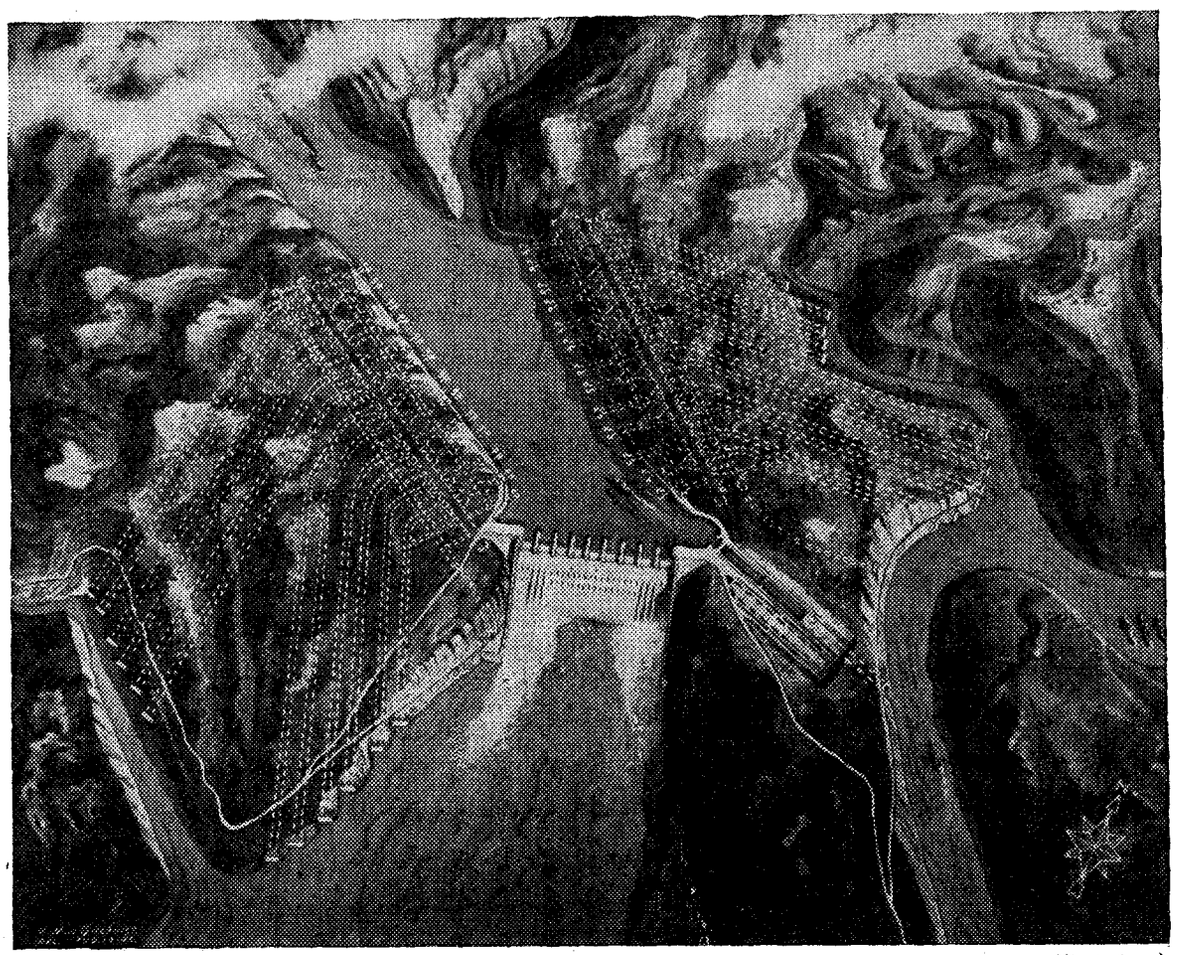
The task of taming "China's Sorrow" will not end with the closing of the "Main Gap," but will be broadened into the Chinese Government's 10-year Yellow River Program. Surveys are now being made of the old dyke system, along the 400-mile course from Chengchow to the Gulf of Chihli, into which the Yellow River will empty. The completed program will require the repair of the entire dyke structure and a vast land-reclamation operation in East Honan and North Anhwei provinces.

It is believed that most of the reclaimed area will be sufficiently drained by fall to permit the planting of a wheat crop which will be ready for harvest by June, 1947. A rice crop, to be planted in the spring of 1947, and cotton and vegetables will also be produced. Experts in seed selection, planting, fertilization, drainage, livestock care and dairy operation are standing by to begin work as soon as the waters recede.

The rewards of success will be great. The area involved is estimated by the Chinese Government to be capable of producing 7,500,000 bushels of wheat, 13,800,000 bushels of rice. The rewards in relief of human misery and providing more adequate food and better living are expected to reach 200,000,000 of China's 465,000,000 people.

And UNRRA directors forsee another lasting and valuable contribution:

"The Chinese workers and technicians engaged in the work," they said, "are being trained and given practical experience which will enable them to take over the continuing work of improving and maintaining the Yellow River."



(Phot. Acme)

One of the gigantic river projects planned for China's future.

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DON'T SELL FRANCE SHORT

by SEYMOUR CAIN

Her indomitable spirit, her high place in culture make her the connecting link between Western and Eastern culture. France, says this author, shall and must assume her rightful place.

WHEN in the spring of 1940 the German armored columns broke the hinge at Sedan and swept through the whole breadth of France—following the pattern outlined many years before by a young French military theorist by the name of de Gaulle—they broke more than the lives of the Frenchmen maimed and killed, more than the homes of the houses destroyed, more than the organization of the army vanquished. They upset the position of France in the eyes of the world.

It became an accepted axiom that France no longer need be considered as a force in world affairs; that she was now only an inert pawn to be manipulated on the international chess-table; that outside of the Axis there were only three powers that could influence the destiny of the world: Britain, Russia and the United States. The resulting attitude was indicated in many small ways. At a great American university the number of students studying French decreased to a newtime low. A young private coming up before an officer candidate examining board in 1942 was told that his speaking and reading knowledge of French was militarily useless, that it would have been more useful to know German or Russian.

It is in this general climate of opinion that all of our relations with France have taken place in the last five years: the pipeline to Vichy, the cavalier handling of the Free French Committee, the machinations in North Africa, the operations on French soil, and the later contretemps in regard to the United Nations Security Council and the other problems of victory. And unless there is a change of attitude, unless we realize that this theory is false and unfounded on fact, there will be further misunderstanding, further incidents and further bad feeling, the results of which will be good neither for France nor for the rest of the world. For France is *not* a nonentity, France's role in the world is not a negligible one, France is still what it has been in the past and what it will be in the future: the central point, the disseminating center, the bridgehead of Western culture—to Europe, to Russia, to the Middle East and to Africa.

THE war is now happily over. The peace has now nominally come. We are now no longer under the wartime needs and stresses of propaganda and prestige. Looking for the mote in the other fellow's eye, the desperate searching for a basis for feelings of self-righteousness, the buttressing of one's membership in the society of the *unco' guid*—all these pleasant pastimes no longer have a functional role to play. Now we can once again be sentient, knowing, intelligent human beings. And a good way to begin is to clear the mental attic of a lot of unnecessary and troublesome rubbish. We could do no better than to start with France.

1. ***The French were defeated in 1940 because they didn't want to fight.*** Nonsense. The French were defeated in 1940 because they had half the population and one-fifth the industrial potential of Germany, and because for every French soldier there were two Germans, and for every French workingman there were four Germans.

During the first world war, when the industrial and demographic ratios were less unfavorable and the tactical problems of the breakthrough had not yet been solved, the French could hold the line for four years by taking a horrible casualty toll: 4,266,000 wounded (including 1,000,000 maimed for life), 1,357,000 killed, and 537,000 missing—a total of 6,160,000 casualties out of a population then of 39,000,000! In view of the fact that we, a nation of 140,000,000, have never come anywhere near this casualty total in two world wars—or even adding up the figures

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of all our wars combined—it would certainly be the height of bad taste to make any invidious remarks about sacrifice and gratitude.

Certainly it is easier now than it was five years ago to see that the French really didn't do so badly. Just before the blitzkrieg the 300,000,000 Americans and Russians could prate sententiously about the "phony war" and "international war-mongering," and during the onslaught of 80,000,000 Germans against 40,000,000 Frenchmen they could stand by with folded arms making critical comments. But when their own turn came they found it took all their man-power, all their resources, the full mobilization of their great industries, and four years' time to defeat the German armies.

2. ***The French liked the Germans, collaborated with them, and did nothing to oppose them.*** The truth is that the *ordinary* civilian can do nothing about an army of occupation—as one soon finds out when one is a member of such a force. The ordinary civilian must accept it whether he likes it or not. He must go on working and living until the day of liberation—in the case of the French 1,500 days away. The *extraordinary* civilian can do something about it—as he did in France. There he demolished bridges, he sabotaged factories, he killed German officers, he did all that it was possible for him to do. And if he were captured it meant hideous torture and certain death—the Geneva Convention did not operate for him. The French civilian casualty figures from bombing, strafing, the shooting of hostages, village massacres and concentration camps run into hundreds of thousands. Does any American civilian want to match the Frenchman on that? Or when the time comes to talk of sacrifice is there any American city that would like to compare itself with the wasteland that is St. Lô, the hulk that is Caen, the wreckage that is Le Havre?

3. ***The present French government is unfriendly to this country.*** Wrong. The present French government is friendly to the interests of France—as it should be—and has never been unfriendly to the United States. If the French government were as petty, small-minded and vindictive as it has been portrayed in the more lurid press, it would certainly have good reason for some feeling of irritation toward us on the score of the numerous rebuffs, humiliations and high-handedness suffered during the first four years of Free France's existence. It would be idle and useless at this time to question the policies and attitude of this country toward Free France and its leader, both in the London and Algiers settings. One might accept in all humbleness and without quibbling the various reasons of high policy given for these strange maneuvers, but the essential thing to remember at this time is that *on the proving-ground our whole underlying theory was proved wrong.* From the moment de Gaulle set foot once more on the soil of his homeland it became evident to the dullest mind that Free France was France. The resistance movement and the Free French *were* one, and this happy circumstance obviated for us all problems and necessities of administration, cleansing and reconstruction. Our armies could concentrate on the fight, and on the fight alone. Certainly it is ironic and a comment on the astuteness of our diplomacy that many of the governments to which we did extend full recognition, with all its advantages, should have proved without popular basis, while the one government to which we continuously refused recognition should have proved the most stable, the most steadfast, the most permanent of all.

4. ***The French were not grateful for their liberation and treated our soldiers badly.*** This is one remark that should be squelched once and for all. In the beachhead region the people were too dazed by the recent and sudden roar of battle to display any marked feeling, and it is probably true that some of the peasantry had made a good thing out of their sales to the Germans. But in Brittany it was flowers and fruit and wine and joyous, grateful smiles (and the FFI taking care of the American flanks and rear). The whole world knows the story of Paris. It was afterwards that the disenchantment and disillusion—on both sides—began. Why? One thing was the price situation, and it is true that the exchange rate worked to the disadvantage of the American soldier, but that ratio was set by the British and American government, not by the French. As a matter of fact, it was a great handicap to the French in the international economic setup, a handicap which they have only recently eliminated. Working under that rate of exchange they could do no business abroad. The average Frenchman had as much, and even worse, a problem with the price situation as the G.I.—not to speak of the problem of getting enough to eat. The official price level was 400 percent, the black-market price level 700 percent, above that of 1939. It is probable that the idea of being liberators was oversold to the American soldiers and that they

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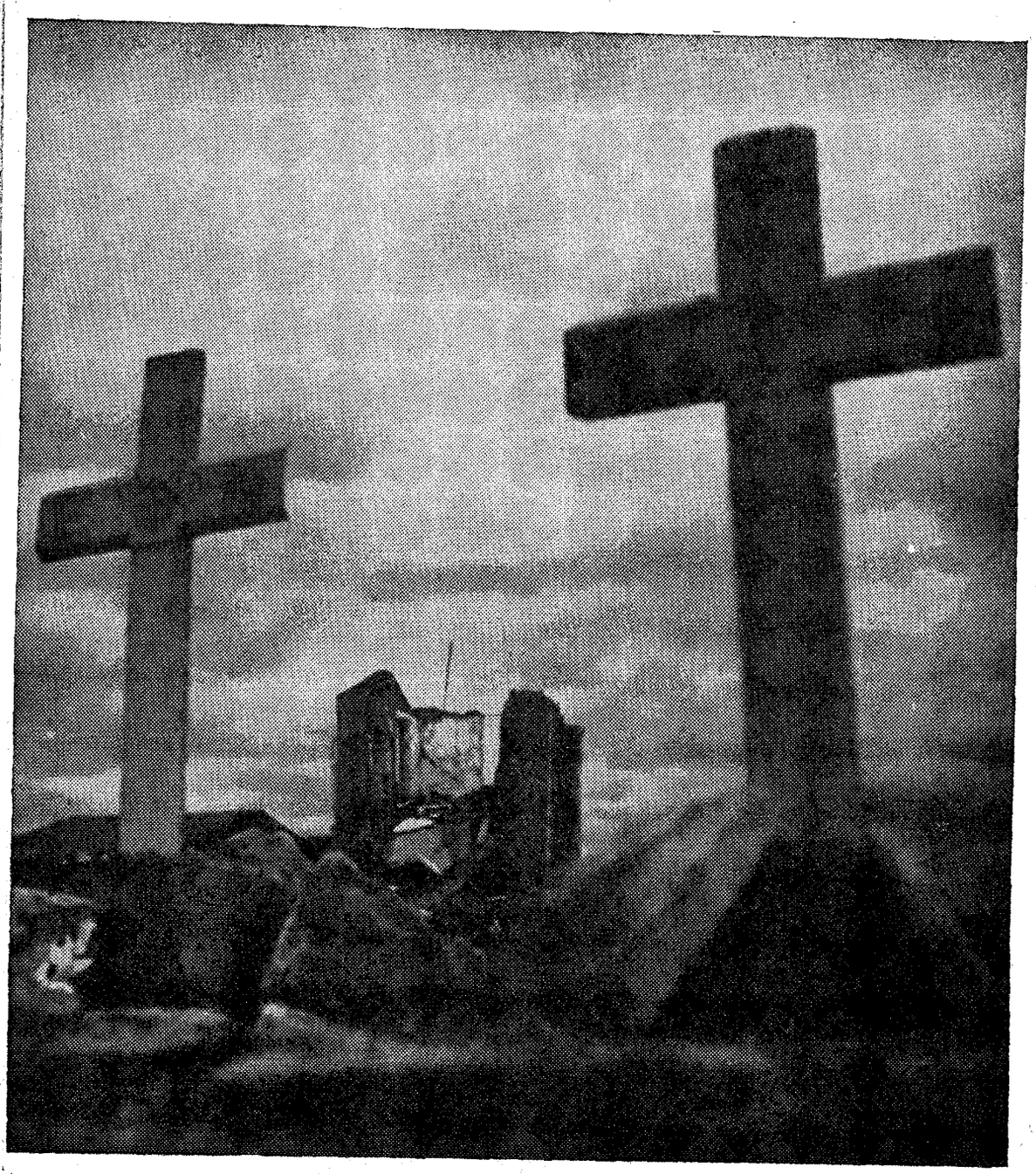

Don't sell France short! Out of the ashes, a new France will rise.

expected an obsequious and effusive form of gratitude. Apparently they expected the populace to come forth in sackcloth and ashes and kiss the bottoms of their feet. What they did not know is that the French are just not that kind of people. What they could never seem to understand was that the Frenchman is just as independent and individualistic as the American, and that before arrogance and bad manners and loutishness he does not display the polite reserve of the Englishman or the humble docility of the German.

The fact is—and we might as well face it—that Americans know little, and care less, about France. The so-called 160 years of intimate friendship was a matter of foreign offices and intellectual élites, not of peoples. If there is any foreign country with a cultural influence on America it is England, and not France. And when the average American thinks of European culture it is German, and not French. All of our fallacies, all our misunderstandings take place within this general framework of ignorance and disinterestedness—a situation

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which will continue for a long time to come unless we learn what France is and what she means to the world, and get entirely away from the wine-women-song motif.

France has traditionally been the schoolmaster of Europe, the fountainhead of Western culture, the incubator of ideas well ahead of their time. It was a German poet who said it was quite the normal thing for France to be a century ahead of the rest of the world. In Europe she has pioneered in all forms of government, from the middle ages to modern times. The daring experimentalism of her art and literature—added to its classic universality—is famous throughout the civilized world. France has also been the country where quality, and not quantity, has been the goal, whether quality in ideas and art, or quality in fabrics, wines and cuisine, or quality in the art of living itself. And as the country of the great Revolution it remains as the living inheritor of the great ideas which are still ideals and goals to be attained in our own day—liberty, equality and fraternity.

About two hundred years ago Montesquien remarked on the diversity of the French people and he found that while it made for domestic instability and military weakness it made also for an extraordinary human richness and an amazing quality of resilience. His observations have been borne out by history. At Rosbach in 1757 Frederick the Great, with 24,000 men, blitzed his way through 43,000 Frenchmen in little more than an hour's time. It cost France the Seven Years' War and it lost her an empire. Thereupon the French became labeled as soft, decadent and divided, adjectives which ring with a familiar tone in present-day ears. These labels, however, did not prevent them a few decades later from upsetting the old regime, striding forward into the modern era in seven-league boots, striking terror into the hearts of kings and despots everywhere, beating off their royal counter-revolutionary armies, and then advancing through all Europe. In 1870 an over-rated French army was again defeated by the Prussians, this time in less than a month. Subsequently, despite numerous humiliations in the political power setup, the French went on to distinguished achievements in the arts and sciences, built up a great empire, and in 1914-18 won the admiration of the entire world for their unyielding gallantry.

This comeback may take place again. In certain respects France is more favorably situated than after the first world war. Although her cities and communications are far more devastated, she does not now have to compensate for over six million military casualties. The physical decay undergone in the P-W camps and in the labor-stalags can probably be made good, given time and care,—and in an expanding economy the loss of birth during the war years—carefully calculated on by the Germans—can also be made good. It is also probable that the old-fashioned conservative view that France should remain a largely agricultural country, eschewing mass-production and heavy industry and concentrating on quality goods, will find no place in the new France. The France where three times as many people worked on the soil as in the factories is probably gone forever, and the cautious, hidebound, old-hat prudence will probably be absent from a France where recently prudence nearly cost all.

The place of this new France in the coming international setup reminds one of Voltaire's famous witticism about God—that if He did not exist it would be necessary to invent Him. For although Europe may well be run by the Big Three, and by the Big Three alone, it cannot be run through the Big Three, because neither England, Russia nor the United States is a European power. The first is a world-empire, separated from the Continent by more than a narrow body of water; the second is a power most of whose territory and half of whose interests lie in Asia, one, moreover, which is not related culturally to most of the other nations of Europe; and the third is a continental republic, separated by 3,000 miles of water from the mainland of Europe. Faced with the task of reconstructing and pacifying Europe, the Big Three will sooner or later have to face the fact that France will not only be the first of European powers west of Russia, but also the one peculiarly fitted by tradition and history to transmit the new gospel to a torn and suspicious Europe. Certainly any equation pretending to solve the German problem must contain the factor of France. The Big Three have the power and the prestige to deny to France this natural focal position, but they may find that it will cost them dear in men, money and materials, just as it did in the years 1940-45. Putting words into the mouths of the dead is a heartless and fatuous business, but one may pardonably wonder what the dead of Kharkov, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Omaha Beach and the Ardennes would say to such a repetition of human folly.

France was. France is. France will be.

Don't sell her short.

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I AM AMERICAN — O. K.

A Short Story

by JEAN J. NEWMAN

WALKING through what had once been the streets of Hamburg, I saw nothing but waste and barrenness—blasted and bombed-out homes and shops, heaps of stone and bricks and ashes that bore no resemblance to the well-remembered blocks of solid and stately buildings. This was not my first sight of ruin. In England a slow anger had accumulated as I saw time and again the senseless destruction of centuries-old beauty the memory of which is being kept alive now only in books and in the hearts of the people.

In approaching Hamburg, it seemed a very labyrinth of winding streets half obliterated by rubble and pulverized masonry, its vast docks and harbor lying useless. From the distance of a few miles I had seen the outlines of wierdly twisted cranes and derricks silhouetted against the sky, like heavily looped wires in a senseless design—souvenir of the bombings of the mighty Allied Air Force.

I saw the disorder and chaos pervading the whole metropolis, and it depressed me. It was a tragic sight. But this was Germany, and in Germany I could not feel the pity or anger I had felt in England. For in my mind there was always the persistent reminder: "All this they have brought upon themselves. This is the Germany the Nazis have created."

There was one striking exception in this picture of otherwise total desolation—one reminder of the old Germany of a happier day. In the midst of the wreckage—the magnificent tower of the Cathedral thrust its spire 600 feet into the sky. There it stood intact, utterly unharmed. Gazing up at it, I was cheered by the thought that this represented a job well done, and I marvelled at the incredible precision bombing of our fliers. For beyond a ten-yard radius around the Cathedral, all was destruction. This alone remains a triumphant testimony to the indestructibility of the human spirit and spiritual values.

I picked my way through the city, trying to reconstruct it in my mind's eye from the seemingly unrelated fragments scattered all about me. Here were the remnants of once-comfortable residences; there the half-burned sign of a curio shop. On a nearby rubble heap were the twisted remains of a beautifully wrought-iron balcony. Beside it lay the broken pieces of a carved stone figure. Smiling from a bed of shattered glass was the face of a china doll. Futilely, I was trying to sort out names and epochs of architectural styles among something that was utterly timeless and spaceless. Hopelessly, I was searching for the symbols of the past existence of a famed city.

While thus absorbed I met a young man wearing a most unusual uniform. This youth whom I guessed to be in his late teens was wearing an American Army dress blouse and fatigue pants and high black German boots. On both shoulders and across his breast pocket were flashes of white linen. Each flash carried the same legend: UNITED STATES AMERICA. The initial letters, U S and A, were in bold characters; the other letters small by comparison. And it was not United States *of* America; it was simply a literal expansion of the initials USA.

In amazement I stared quite rudely at the boy. He noticed my curiosity and then my UNRRA uniform which is so similar to that of the GI's. He stepped forward smartly, and with a decidedly guttural accent said in English: "Good morning."

I answered at once. He looked quite pleased and smiled broadly. I asked him a few questions in English: "Where are you from? What is your name? What are you doing here?"

JEAN J. NEWMAN, formerly with OWI, has recently returned from Europe where he worked with UNRRA as Director of Displaced persons. In this capacity he was in charge of the transportation of thousands of sick people from Assembly Centers and concentration camps in Germany to hospitals in Sweden. Mr. Newman has been associated with FREE WORLD since its inception.

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But I soon realized that he could not understand a word of it. So I tried German, with better luck.

"What language do you speak?"

In German the bold warrior replied. "I speak English." But upon further questioning he admitted, a little shamefacedly, that he did not speak English very well "yet."

"What is your nationality?"

The young man, still speaking in German, promptly answered: "I am American, of course. OK."

NEEDLESS to say, I was becoming more and more intrigued. The question-and-answer period had assumed an Alice in Wonderland flavor, and I was getting nowhere. I insisted on getting the story straight. This involved endless questioning, patience and perseverance, but I finally got this tale from him:

He was seventeen years old. He had spent the last four years in German concentration camps and was Polish by birth.

"In 1940," he said, "I was deported from Poland to Germany with my whole family. There were seven of us: my father, my mother, three sisters, and brother and myself. At first we were all in the same camp, but we were soon divided. Some were sent to Tremblinka. My father and brother were sent to Auschwitz. A sister and I were brought to Neugamme near Hamburg and put to work building roads, working at the aircraft plants, burying the dead."

Then, gravely and ceremoniously he announced: "Now they are all dead. I am the last one to bear our name. But I have an uncle who lives in America. Of course, he is my legal guardian, and I will go to him. He is an American citizen, and his citizenship will naturally be mine."

With that statement he turned his back on the grim past. He was rejecting Poland, he was rejecting Germany with its concentration camps and forced labor; he was rejecting the tragedy of his homeless existence—and fixing his gaze on the future.

"I have made up my mind that I will be an American, and an American I will be."

His eyes, his whole attitude, looked comically fierce as he uttered this last sentence. Then he relaxed a bit and told me how he had acquired his strange uniform. He had become acquainted with a number of GI's, and bit by bit they had given him the various parts of his "uniform" of which he was very proud.

"I really feel that I am an American. And what is more, an American soldier."

BUT he had felt that his uniform was not really complete without some kind of mark or insignia which would definitely designate him as an American. So he found himself some white linen and painstakingly designed long narrow flashes with their inked lettering: UNITED STATES AMERICA. These he sewed upon his shoulders and across his breast pocket.

He confided to me that wearing this uniform had some decided advantages—not the least of which was that as he marched around through the ruins of Hamburg, the Germans had to salute him because of his American uniform. And if anyone dared to defy him . . . !

"My first job," he continued, "is to get to the American zone of occupation in Germany." And he added proudly, "Mr. UNRRA, I do not ask any help for that. I know what I have to do and I will find a way to do it. When I reach the American zone I will go to Frankfurt to the principal UNRRA office, I will tell them all about my uncle in America and ask them to inform him about me and to tell him that I want to go to him. And then I will go to America and become an American citizen. I am a minor, so my uncle is responsible for me. Since he is an American, I, too, will be an American. OK."

After this long speech came the final surprise.

"I suppose it is most likely that you do not have any American cigarettes. After all, you are here in the British zone. Would you like to have an American cigarette?"

I would indeed have enjoyed an American cigarette, but I felt quite sure that he was just bragging, and that none would be forthcoming. But the youngster proudly produced a pack of Camels. In offering them he said conclusively: "You see—this proves that I am an American, and I have American friends."

I left the young man there on that rubble heap with the conviction that some day, somehow, I will meet him again—right here in the UNITED STATES AMERICA. If anyone will get here, he will. OK.

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MOVIES

THE HOLLYWOOD LETTER

by ALLEN RIVKIN

CENSORSHIP is raising its ugly head again. The Johnston office (formerly Hays) has been sending its man, Joseph I. Breen, around to the studios to meet with producers, directors and writers to acquaint the picture-makers with what the public has been saying, via the mails, about what they don't like in the films of recent months. It seems, according to Breen, that the objections fall into these categories:

1) Objection to "soul" or "open-mouth" kissing;

2) Objection to drinking, drunkenness or the presence of liquor in the scenes portrayed;

3) Objection to killings, violence and murder of all sorts; and

4) Objection to "low moral tone" subjects, i.e. *Double Indemnity, Scarlet Street* and *The Postman Always Rings Twice.*

These objections, says Breen, are not from pressure groups—like the W.C.T.U. which created an enormous mail campaign on *The Lost Week-end,* for instance. They're just from ordinary, run-of-the mill movie goers who, in the main, are worried 'cause they can't take their kiddies to the movies without fear of having their impressionable little minds warped.

At one of the studios Breen visited, the head of the plant asked Breen how many letters he thought he'd received already. Breen didn't know off-hand, said he could find out by calling the office.

"Would you guess a hundred thousand?"

"No!" answered Breen. "Far less than that."

"I'll give you a hundred thousand," the studio head said, with becoming generosity. "And that's less than one-tenth of one per cent, figuring our population at 137 million. But take only the weekly movie-goers: 80 million. A hundred thousand beefs would be just a little over one-tenth of one per cent. Show me any other business that can get by with that low percentage of complaints and I'll start worrying."

Nonetheless, this censorship thing is a worrisome business. It's not that the movie-makers are violating the volunteer Production Code they set up many years ago to govern themselves, either. It's not that directors and writers are trying desperately to sneak something in over the watchful eye of the Breen department of the Johnston office. It's the possibility of Federal censorship that causes the headache. For, the Johnston office feels, and rightly, if these complaints from movie-goers continue to increase and they don't get satisfaction from their objections, they'll turn their demands over to their Congressmen—and what politico wouldn't just love to bathe in the publicity a bill asking for government control of movies would create?

Currently there is only city and state censorship. Notably hawk-eyed Boards are in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Cities like Chicago, Memphis and Milwaukee are pretty tough, too. Just recently Milwaukee created a fuss about Walter Wanger's *Scarlet Street.* Memphis did, also. Memphis always does, however. You remember what happened to *The Southerner* in Memphis, don't you? It was barred from the city because of its alleged slur to the South. An exhibitor across the state line in Arkansas, how-

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ALLEN RIVKIN, well-known writer of stories and movie scripts provides a monthly article on the doings in Cinemaland for FREE WORLD readers.

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ever, advertised the picture so heavily in Memphis papers that soon the entire city was flocking into Arkansas to see the film the Memphis Board said they couldn't see. This took plenty of movie money out of the Tennessee town and soon the Memphis exhibitors started squawking. They, together with some readers of the Bill of Rights, protested so loudly the Memphis Board was forced to reverse its decision—and *The Southerner* was available to anyone from then on.

In many cities the police department sits on censor boards. That's one reason why picture producers have to observe a great deal of caution in the manner in which cops are portrayed. A story, for instance, showing realistic police brutality, or cops taking bribes, or cops being members of the Christian Front or, as they are now in Georgia, members of the K.K.K., wouldn't have a chance. For altogether different reasons, however, the police have banned Howard Hughes' *The Outlaw* in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth.

The Outlaw, as a matter of fact, presents an interesting twist. When Howard Hughes made the film five or six years ago, the Breen office pointed out to him that his script was unacceptable—it didn't come up to the requirements of the moral code. Hughes changed his script and finally got Breen's approval. But when he started shooting the picture, directing it himself after two directors had walked out on him, he put on the screen what the Breen boys said he couldn't have in his script. They then refused to approve the finished film and thus gave him no Production Code number—the little mark that tells all censor boards in the country: "We, the watchdogs of Hollywood's morals, say this is a clean picture and you don't have to worry about it."

Hughes opened his picture in San Francisco and got soundly panned for it. He put it on ice, recut it and with what almost amounts to a lewd advertising campaign, just recently has put it into general release. Johnston is seething, Breen is apoplectic. If the public reacts to it on the grounds of "low moral tone" and starts the letters flowing not to Johnston and Breen but to the nation's capitol, there'll be hell to pay—and all because Howard Hughes is a so-called bad boy. It's even gone so far that Hughes has instituted a triple-damage suit against Hollywood's Big Five—the five studios which are the dominant factors in the Johnston office. According to Drew Pearson, the justice department has long thought that the Big Five's moral censorship is "sometimes more commercial than moral, but they hesitate to go to bat for *The Outlaw* because of a scene where the heroine partially disrobes."

During the war, of course, Byron Price's Office of Censorship screened every film for export. If it didn't show the country in a good light (no gangsters, no dirty politics, no heavies from Allied nations, no burning up of tires at 90 mph., no sumptuous banquets or table-groaning feasts, etc.), it couldn't leave the country. Technically, the war is still on since the peace hasn't been signed and, although Price's office was one of the first to be abandoned following V-J day, some frightened Hollywood boys fear pressure might reactivate it.

Thus Joseph I. Breen, a good guy and no Anthony Comstock, is whispering his warnings to the boys who pay his salary. He tells them to be careful, to have their lovers kiss clean and daintily, to stop pouring liquor all over the screen, to cut down on the killings and shootings and stabbings and general violence, and to keep away from sordid subjects done by sordid people in sordid surroundings. Even though today the complaints are less than one-tenth of one per cent, a lot of people remember that Prohibition blighted our land, put over by fewer people than these.

You Ought to See

Henry V, with Laurence Olivier and a perfectly wonderful cast of Old Vic performers in a magnificent British production in Technicolor, so excitingly and beautifully done, it is sheer perfection. Not only does Olivier play the title role, but directs and produces as well.

Cluny Brown, with Charles Boyer, Jennifer Jones and Peter Lawford in Ernst Lubitsch's production of Margery Sharp's bright novel of the English classes, further brightened by a swell script from Samuel Hoffenstein and Elizabeth Rheinhardt.

The Stranger, with Orson Welles, Loretta Young and Edward G. Robinson, in one of the tensest, most adult melodramas to hit the screen in a long while. Welles completely redeems himself to his many champions and directs brilliantly from a gem of a script by Anthony Veiller.

The Perfect Marriage, with Loretta Young, David Niven (after five years in the British army), Eddie Albert (after three years in the U. S. Navy), Virginia Field, Charles Ruggles and Zasu Pitts, in a script by Leonard Spigelgass which far excels Samson Raphaelson's play in its gayety and insight of the marriage-divorce business.

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TREASURY for the FREE WORLD for UN Leaders

Just before departing on his round-the-world tour Norman Corwin, famed radio writer and winner of the Wendell Wilkie award, gave each member of the United Nations Security Council a copy of the widely discussed new book, *Treasury for the Free World,* which, he said, like the United Nations, is dedicated to "the massive task of remaking the world."

Mr. Corwin's presentation of the books took place at CBS. Among the United Nations representatives attending: David Blickenstaff, representing Secretary General Trygve Lie; Guy de la Chivalrie, for Assistant Secretary General David Owen in Charge of Economic Affairs; Tien Fang-cheng for China's member Dr. Quo Tai-Chai; and Mr. Sommerfelt for Assistant Secretary General Henri Laugier in Charge of Social Affairs.

In inscribing copies of *Treasury for the Free World,* Mr. Corwin wrote:

"At this critical time when the world's hopes hang on the success of the United Nations, I take the liberty of presenting you with this profoundly urgent book, *Treasury for the Free World,* on behalf of the Free World Association.

"This book expresses the ideals for which the war was fought and I believe it deserves the widest attention.

"It was written by men who, like yourself, have devoted their lives and works to the massive task of remaking a better world."

Treasury for the Free World is a collection of significant articles and proposals from FREE WORLD Magazine for solving world problems of today and tomorrow, written by Sumner Welles, Thomas Mann, Henry Wallace, Tito, Albert Einstein, Vincent Sheean, Bertrand Russell and 56 other leading figures. The book, edited by Ben Raeburn, contains an important introduction by Ernest Hemingway.

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BOOKS

UNIVERSITY PRESSES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

by **JOSEPH A. BRANDT**

CULTURE in these United States has never been part of the vocabulary of success which we worship. It does not pay dividends in the concrete way that a lucky investment on the stock market does; it does not mesh into the gears of the mechanistic society which now so characterizes us. It is not necessary for our conversations, since the art of conversation, like the art of letter writing, is more based upon fact than upon cerebration.

This isolation of culture from the mainstream of American life, which is a life of action rather than of introspection, has had its full effect upon colleges and universities. These institutions are the root and the bough of culture, its depository and its disseminator. The principal points of contact between the universities and the society they serve are their graduates, who are quickly swallowed in the great maw of business and industry, and the contributions of the scholars, who principally make up our cultural reservoir.

Since the "frame of reference," as the scholar would describe it, in which the professor writes differs so completely from the needs and usually the ability to comprehend, of the prospective general reader, scholarly publishing became a responsibility of the universities. It was the only way to provide a continuous outlet for America's thinking since we, as a people, are on the whole more bent on being entertained than instructed. Such has not always been the case. When ours was essentially an agrarian society, scholars and their readers were in the same frame of reference; the scholar wrote simply if learnedly, frequently with eloquence; and his reader, whether a fellow scholar or a Virginia gentleman or a Vermont farmer, felt himself a part of one world of expanding intelligence. Writing and conversation were esteemed as arts to be practiced by the gentleman. Our language, of course, then still preserved its essential English purity, not having become the great sponge which later immigration made of it.

THE conquest of the western frontier and the growth of the machine age rapidly undermined the position of the scholar. And not long after the end of the Civil War, the scholar himself began to break the great disciplines into fractional parts. Unlike the assembly line of industry, however, you could not collect all these fractional parts into one intellectual whole. Consequently, the audience for the scholarly writers, ever becoming more specialized, became reduced by the same ratio as specialization seized hold of the citadel of higher learning.

President Gilman, in establishing Johns Hopkins University, and President Harper, in forming the University of Chicago, discerned this difficulty, although their primary purpose in establishing university presses as parts of the educational structure, was to complete the rôle of the scholar; for when there is research done, and conclusions reached, publication almost inevitably follows.

Thus, scholarly writing was in the anomalous position of being "kept" writing. The scholar had the advantage that he could write as he pleased; yet offsetting this was the disagreeable knowledge that his conclusions (the scholarly equivalent to the "facts" of the world of the non-scholar) were given increasingly greater preference over the manner of writing, that is, the invitation to thinking. Literary style in scholarly writing ceased having much importance by the time of the first World War.

This was the greatest handicap under which the university presses worked. As a rule, university administrations did not regard their publishing branches in any other light but as an economic liability which, unfortuately, could not be escaped. Manuscripts to be published were in almost all cases selected by fellow scholars with little or no knowledge of publishing and the managers of the university presses merely acted as weary midwives in the process.

Another grievous handicap was the requirement

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of many universities that all dissertations accepted for the doctorate be published. A number of American universities still maintain this heinous requirement which compels their presses to publish the proof of scholarly immaturity. Oxford University, in yielding to American influence by finally instituting the degree of doctor of philosophy, very wisely provided that a dissertation, to be acceptable, must be publishable!

This was the general pattern of American university press publishing until the 1930s, despite a number of highly imaginative scholarly contributions of great worth and popularity, which somehow broke through the dam of scholarly indifference to literary values. One heretic, however, had pointed the way to a wholesome change. He was George Parmly Day, then treasurer of Yale University, who had established the Yale University Press as a private institution but which he later gave to the university. As might be expected from Clarence Day's brother, Mr. Day was not at all satisfied with a publishing operation which made scarcely a ripple on the lake of American cultural placidity. Under his direction, Yale University Press began to return scholarship to the people.

The Yale example, however, was not immedately followed by the other universities which had established presses. Scholarship in general was too mummified to welcome heresy. Furthermore, the lustiest and the most vigorous of the disciplines, the physical sciences, did not feel that they needed university press publishing. The conclusion of years of research could frequently be stated in a paragraph, crowded with meaning for fellow scientists. Such a paragraph did not lend itself to a book but appeared principally in scientific journals.

IN general, the function of university press publishing was regarded as subsidizing the written products of American scholarship, a guild set apart from the people. Book store buyers frowned when an occasional salesman representing a university press appeared. Reviewers of the big dailies usually dismissed press books with the damning appellation, "a dissertation," whether such a designation were true or false. General publishers wrote kindly to the occasional scholar who wanted his books read, suggesting that he send his manuscript to a university press, which was endowed to absorb the inevitable loss which its publication would entail. The many exceptions to this popular estimate of university press titles only proved the rule.

Almost simultaneously in four different sections of the country, new university presses appeared, carrying the torch which George Parmly Day had lighted, even though the torch was borne in a far different manner. Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania began presses which threw away the old school tie by which some of the older presses had sought to color their contributions to culture and society. These newer presses began on the assumption that they must first of all serve the people of their own regions and that the end of scholarship, which is truth, should be communicated to the people, who, when all is said and done, should be the first concern of the scholar.

The new presses were at once designated as "regional." In a way, they were. Their births coincided with the growth of literary regionalism in the South, led by such stalwarts as Allen Tate. The southern regionalists injected a new philosophy, a hopeless one, perhaps, of agrarianism. They saw the problems of an area of a continental republic as being peculiar to the region and they proposed their own solutions. Less on the economic side, and more on the spiritual, was B. A. Botkin's pronunciamiento in *Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany*, which marked the entry of the University of Oklahoma in the newer Southwest into the field of university publishing. Mr. Botkin took his stand with the folk, who, learned in books or not, do possses a wisdom which even statesmen cannot deny.

The larger significance of these new presses was less regional than it was national. Book publishing, as an industry, had largely been concentrated on the Eastern seaboard. This meant that local history, for instance which should be preserved but which, on the other hand, had no sales appeal beyond the region, would have to go into the archives of local historical societies for want of a publishing outlet. The regional presses, knowing their especial markets, were able to publish such local materials, to the eventual enrichment of our national culture. But of even greater significance, book publishing, as the most important and consistent disseminator of our culture, became a national institution; not only were book stores and book distributors encouraged to sell books belonging to the entire nation, but authors who otherwise might have remained unknown, reached the publication stage through the sympathetic encouragement of editors with whom they could talk in person.

The success of the regional presses, most of which were state university publishing houses, indirectly stimulated the older presses into professional attitudes. The regional presses had come into being at the nadir of American publishing, the depth of the post-Coolidge depression. While college enrollments were among the last factors to be seriously effected by the depression, the new presses were called upon to prove themselves at a time when books had become a luxury—so vital had been the impact of American learning upon the people that food for the mind ceased being of paramount importance!—and when financial support from the parent universities had all but ceased. Scholarship which had insolently ignored the people suddenly was confronted with the necessity of justifying itself and scholars found that they had to begin writing for an audience.

THE depression marked a revival in American culture. The national government, confronted with the problem of countless unemployed writers, inaugurated the Federal Writers Project, the greatest

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achievement of which was the American Guide series. The regional presses turned the light of knowledge inward and we began to appraise the true strength of our continental vastness. Columbia began its one-volume encyclopedia, and Chicago started the long work on its monumental *Dictionary of American English*. Oklahoma began its series surveying the civilization of the American Indian, Pennsylvania its series of biographies of state historical figures, Princeton its republication of the classics describing the opening of the West. Virtually all of the presses were on the move; and so the new era dawned. University press publishing, which had survived almost a half century under the most unfavorable circumstances, began to emerge as a real national publishing force, able to discover new authors, demonstrating real acumen in launching books, restoring the wayward scholar to his lost sense of duty.

The success of a university press is not to be judged upon the number of best sellers it produces. Yet the press should not be considered the most successful which had sold the fewest books. There is a great reluctance among American scholars to look with favor upon any book which, based upon the solid rock of research, sells well. Frequently press managers have listened helplessly as members of their committee of publications dismissed as "commercial" a book, otherwise quite sound, which might be expected to pay its way. The success of the war years has somewhat dulled this academic knife but it is an ever-present threat. During the war years, when funds were even more meager than during the depression, press committees were compelled to make some concessions; and once made, they found that the taste of success was not as sour as they had anticipated.

The margin which separates a university press book from the list of a general publisher is real, if slender. A university press title must satisfy, as a rule these canons: it must be a contribution to knowledge, it must be sound and honest, it should be written in reasonably good English. Any good general publisher would require the same standards. The difference in selection would come at the economic level; the general publisher would examine his list to learn how many "prestige" titles he might reasonably publish during the season; the university publisher would not hesitate on the question of loss, unless the figure were an unreasonable one. Sometimes either a foundation or the author may come to the aid of the scholarly publisher. Such aid made possible the sale of a certain press title, whose manufacturing cost alone had been $13.00 a copy, for $7.50.

Even with this new attitude, university presses may expect either to suffer a loss on their year's business or at best break even, except in unusual years. A university's mission, after all, is not to balance an accountant's ledger but to balance mankind's painfully kept equilibrium between morality and barbarianism.

Nearly ninety years ago Karl Marx observed that the knowledge of Spanish history in his time was altogether inadequate. *"There is perhaps," he wrote, "no country except Turkey, so little known to and so falsely judged by Europe as Spain."*

Here is the book which, published in 1943, is still the most detailed and objective account to throw much needed light on the social and political background of Spain.

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by GERALD BRENAN

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Very Late Spring

This is about books which set out to change something, or to prove something.

Our first is *Science for Democracy* ($2.50) edited by Jerome Nathanson. This is an argument by and among scientists and teachers and leaders of public opinion as to the role of the physical and social sciences in a social democracy. They don't agree by any means. The proponents are men of stature. Very stimulating.

Our next is *Problems in Prejudice* ($2.00, paper) by Eugene Hartley, with a preface by Gardner Murphy. Hartley has set out to examine intolerance as one would classify a faunum, using college students as labratory equipment. His conclusions are not the usual ones, as he pointed out over WOR the other day.

Our third will be *Families in Trouble* ($2.25) by Earl Koos, chairman of the sociology department at the University of Rochester—Robert Lynd pushes it off with a scalpel cut of an introduction. These families live in a tenement block here in New York and have all the usual troubles flesh falls heir to, especially when flesh is chronically short of money. Why don't they tell their troubles to the social worker, the minister, or the city relief agent? Why did they prefer to talk to the bartender, the pawnbroker, the druggist . . . and Koos?

Our last is *On the Nature of Value* ($2.00) by Milton Konvitz. This is the first work in English on Samuel Alexander, the late, great English systematic philosopher. It is predicted that Konvitz has started a cycle of critical investigation.

These books are procurable from your bookseller or from King's Crown Press, a division of Columbia University Press, 1145 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 27.

3 Reports

MY THREE YEARS WITH EISENHOWER: The Personal Diary of Captain Harry C. Butcher, USNR. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1946, 911 *pages plus illustrations,* $5.00

GERMANY IN DEFEAT, by Percy Knauth. Alfred A. Knopf New York, 1946, 233 *pages,* $2.75

AGE OF ASSASSINS, by Philippe Soupault. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1946, 315 *pages,* $3.00

The first of these is a difficult book to review for anyone who has participated even fractionally and felt deeply the events of the past three years. The hurts, far from assuaged, are growing. The problems, far from resolved, are compelling. Tight springs of rage and impotence and anxiety blind us. Knowledge and insight are lacking. And prejudice, our minister plenipotentiary, speaks blatantly for us. How then can we be objective about these years or what has been written about them?

Captain Butcher is the first to admit that his book is not definitive history. It is precisely what he claims it to be—a diary. It is a personal, informal record maintained at the behest of General Eisenhower. It was written "on the run" while the most violent history in the world was being made. It was written by a skillful enough reporter, but he is no historian. It is not objective and does not leave the reader bias-free. Yet, taken for what it is, *My Three Years With Eisenhower* is one of the major books to come out of the war.

Its scope is the course of the war against the European Axis. And the reading thereof is like the course itself—sometimes arid, sometimes trickling, ofttimes strong, latterly torrential. It is set against the wastes and djebels of Mediterranean Africa, the estates and bombed-out slums, the captiousness and the social front of London, the orange groves and vineyards of Sicily, the hail and the hedge-rows of Normandy. Along this course and in this setting appear the highly personalized portraits of those whom history may treat far differently—F. D. R. and P. M. (Churchill), Monty and Beetle (our present ambassador to Russia), Harry Hopkins and de Gaulle, Bradley and Patton and scores of others.

And throughout it all, there is General Eisenhower —so often portrayed here and elsewhere as a "simple, straightforward Kansas boy who made good," but who to this ex-soldier has appeared to be one of the most complex, thoroughly remarkable men of our time. Brilliant strategist and able administrator, soldier and statesman, humane, human and sentimental—he is all of these. And to this complex are added the endearing simplicity of character and singleness of purpose that made General Ike so sensitive to his responsibility and so beloved by his men and his countrymen.

Captain Butcher is indeed fortunate—to have served as an aide to such a man, to have shared his friendship, and for both reasons to have been

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able to sit first row center orchestra on history. Thus he was able to hear the dissonances we heard in *sotte voce*—the captiousness of Churchill, forever trying to play the military strategist in Africa, throughout the Mediterranean, before the invasion and during the continental campaign; the complaints and rivalries among the Allies, with Montgomery pressuring for complete land forces' command; the testiness of de Gaulle who wanted his stake and prestige assured. In most but by no means all instances Ike was equal to these trials. He talked turkey and acted straight. He had to give way in some cases but did not compromise his purpose, his objectives, his men.

Most of the facts in Captain Butcher's diary have been reported throughout the war and since. But there are some accessions and restatements of lesser-known facets of the war. Its value as a diary is that it provides the interstices to what we already know, giving warmth, detail, human interest. It suffers the limitations of most diaries in what it does not report and explain.

Less ambitious in scope and length are Percy Knauth's *Germany in Defeat* and Philippe Soupault's *Age of Assassins*. The one is a close-at-hand report of the decay and disillusionment and confusion of the German people following the Rhine crossing last spring. The report covers the developments of the ensuing few months. The other is an introspective study of prison life under the Vichy government. Though lacking the sadistic horror of Mr. Knauth's concentration camp report, Mr. Soupault's short stay in prison sheds significant light on prisoner attitudes.

Mr. Knauth comes well-appointed to his task. He knew Germany before the war, having been educated at Leipzig. In 1937 he worked in the Berlin office of the *Chicago Tribune*. Two years later he joined the *New York Times* staff, remaining in Berlin until 1941. After a stint of broadcasting for *CBS*, he returned to the United States later that year and since 1942 has been on the staff of *Time*.

His book might have been just another foreign correspondent's report. But Mr. Knauth is still young—only 32—and impressionable enough to have produced a rather fierce document. His impatience with our protocol-minded military leaders at the surrender of Field Marshal Kesselring, his soul-sickened nausea at the bestiality of Buchenwald his utter disappointment with Pastor Neimoeller (which was published in considerable detail in the *Stars and Stripes* for us overseas last summer, yet seems to have come and apparently is still something of a shock to the people of the United States) makes critical, vivid reading.

No two writers or readers are likely to agree on so controversial a subject as Germany. And so it is with *Germany in Defeat*. Mr. Knauth's references to the simpleton-like character of Hitler seems to overlook the incontrovertible fact that he almost pulled off world domination. Yet there is much that is sound and aggressive in this book. With this as evidence, we can expect critically informative reports

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from Mr. Knauth in his new assignment as bureau chief of *Time's* Paris office.

Age of Assassins is a story of prison life written by a poet and novelist director of the French government press and radio services in Tunis before 1940. Upon the French capitulation and the establishment of the Vichy government, Mr. Soupault became suspect and was imprisoned. His stay was short—only six months. It was not typical (if Mr. Knauth's report of Buchenwald is considered so) of war imprisonments nor of other Vichy prisoners. He was permitted visitors, his wife and attorney. He had his books and extra food allowances. After forty-five days solitary confinement, he mingled freely with the other prisoners, learned their stories, their hopes, their fears. Yet he knew only a dissociated, impersonal kind of fear, not the gut-shattering terror of the concentration camps. His was an intellectual disgust with the judges and the guards produced by Vichy, never the ferocity of Percy Knauth who said of Buchenwald, "if ever we forget it then God help mankind because we shall then have sunk to a level as low as that of the men who made this camp—which is lower than mankind should be and stay alive."

And it is this transformation, the process and the product, that is the significant text of this book. Though written with sensivity and insight, this book is a variation on a theme and at best is viewed as a *chanson* in a minor key.

JOSEPH HIRSH

The War in Europe

TOP SECRET, by Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 373 pages, $3.00

This is easily the best narrative account of the War in Europe, from Normandy's D-Day to the close, which has yet appeared. The author had the unusual advantage of serving with the G-3, or planning section, of the European Theater of Operations during the months when the broad outlines of the Invasion were being worked out, and later in the same section at General Bradley's headquarters, where much of the detail was filled in. He managed to escape from purely staff duty for a brief period, long enough to participate in the D-Day assault and command a small detachment which helped to establish the beachhead. He then returned to G-3 duty at the Twelfth Army Group, the senior American headquarters throughout the liberation of Allied and the conquest of enemy territories.

It is obvious that an intelligent observer within G-3, is in a peculiarly favorable position from which to record and appraise major events of a campaign. The Army recognizes that fact by making G-3 responsible for preparing the after-action reports which constitute the military equivalent of an historical record.

This much of the background may help to explain his book, which is written in the forthright manner of a G-3 rather than the relatively easy amiability of the editor of "PM." The chapters which deal with the preludes to and the realities of the campaigns are magnificently done—they carry the fine fury of impatience, the exultation of the rapid advances from the margins of the bocage country across the plain of France, into the snows of the Ardennes and the Rhineland Spring. The analysis of the actual operations in the field has a brilliance which solid truth seldom manages to retain. But the author's judgments are as sharply black and white as the features of an operational map. They have the qualities, and the faults, of honest though subjective opinion.

Mr. Ingersoll's annoyance and skepticism over British policy, and British staff procedures, have been shared by many other American soldiers; Field Marshal Montgomery looms practically as a Devil's Advocate, in "Top Secret." But for many other American soldiers, close association with British troops, particularly in the lower echelons, left quite different feelings.

The author's judgment of Supreme Headquarters is hardly less savage. The present reviewer, who also had a good hard look at SHAEF from below, must confess to similar feelings on certain points. This attitude, however, he finds softened somewhat by two factors: increased distance in space and time; and the recollection of what Mr. Ingersoll's headquarters once looked like, from the still lower level of First Army.

DAVID P. PAGE

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European Boundaries

PEACE ATLAS OF EUROPE, Samuel Van Valkenburg. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $2.00

As a modest primer on Europe's boundary problems, which are now to be the world's problems, this small volume will do very nicely. Dr. Van Valkenburg is well acquainted with his subject and has included in his book, which was originally one of the Foreign Policy Association's *Headline Series,* a good deal of information as yet not generally known to the American public. They will learn also that these problems cannot be considered solely in the light of present world affairs, but must be thought of in a historical context which for practical purposes reaches back into Europe's Dark Ages. In the last chapter, written by Martin Ebon, of the Foreign Policy Association, they will be assured that the principal factors in the future determination of European boundaries are the clashing power interests of the Big Three. On this side of the Atlantic there is a great need for the accurate and timely knowledge offered by the authors of this book.

However, imagine a subordinate officer of the State Department living in post-war Washington trying desperately to support a wife and three children without a rent allowance and at the same time trying to do a conscientious job of political reporting without displeasing his Chief or any of the Assistant Secretaries of State. Imagine that he was given an official assignment to write a report on Europe's boundary problems. The results of his work would be much the same as Dr. Van Valkenburg's. . . . Studded with "one wonders if the solution would be durable," "the solution seems logical," "it would seem," "perhaps," "the situation might, in most cases. . . ."

The author, a recognized expert on European political geography, poses but does not answer these four questions with regard to each continental European nation which has a boundary problem:

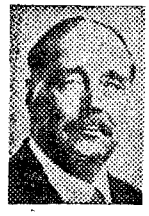
> What boundary will give it the greatest amount of security in the present world situation?
>
> What economic needs should be satisfied?
>
> What peoples of racial kinship should be brought into the state?
>
> What disposition should be made of national minorities?

For boundary studies, maps are of the utmost importance. Those which Graphics, Inc., has prepared for this volume will not be complete or precise enough for most readers, especially those who in recent years have been accustomed to working with the excellent military maps used by our Armed Forces.

No attempt has been made in the book to deal with the validity of the motives which nations have had in the past and will soon demonstrate in fixing international boundaries. How much weight should be given to ethnographic, strategic, political, economic and historical considerations and to straight demands for national aggrandizement in planning boundaries for a peaceful Europe and a peaceful world? The author again declines to let us benefit by his knowledge and experience.

For the more than a modicum of knowledge offered by Dr. Van Valkenburg, which is better than none, the American public should be thankful. To those, however, who are genuinely interested in the problem of Europe's future boundaries and who already know something about it, it will seem that he could have done a lot better if he had really tried.

WILLIAM DUFF



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A Great Woman

BEATRICE WEBB, by Margaret Cole. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 222 pages, $3.00

In 1885, just about the time when the Conservative Party's taking over of power seemed to mean the discarding of the Gladstonian urge for reforms, the newly-formed Fabian Society announced that "the age of administration has begun." Within a few years the opportunity for the creation of new activities of local government afforded by the erection of County Councils gave such Fabians as Sidney and Beatrice Webb just the chance to gain and use experience in practical administration that they knew so well how to put to profit. In this respect the Tory tradition of administrative skill was more suited to their flair than the Liberal emphasis on

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legislation, and, indeed, was far more akin to the early Nineteenth Century Radicalism of Bentham, Place and Chadwick than anyone realized at the time. And, even more than her husband, perhaps, Beatrice Webb was a descendant of that thoroughly rationalistic, and somewhat cold, Utilitarianism which had produced the very Poor Law of 1834 that she, in the Minority Report of 1909, so dramatically and devastatingly demolished. It is even just to state that this radical background explains her life-work, and gives it the consistency that Mrs. Cole speaks of, more than does the Socialism that provided her with a conscious aim in life. Beatrice Webb to the end of her days knew just how she would remake her society into a reasonable community of reasoning people, little understanding the disinclination of Englishmen to be converted into *administrés*. Or did she know her Englishman and so turn with relief to the Russian?

Beatrice Webb was a great enough woman to have a candid biographer. This Mrs. Cole is. Her essay on a friend whom she loved and revered tells the magnificent story of selfless devotion to a task, yet abounds in delightful pokes of criticism; she is aware of the element of the ridiculous that always plays about people as single-minded and humorless as the Webbs, but her amusement is tender. She does not ignore the tendency to intolerance nor the lack of a certain breadth of culture that finds interesting all that preoccupies the human mind. And Mrs. Cole realizes clearly that Beatrice Webb's attraction to Soviet Russia was not a response to triumphant Marxian revolution—not to Lenin's "heroic age" of 1917-1921—but rather a delighted recognition of the gigantic administrative machine that in Stalin's Russia was able to rebuild a vast country according to blueprint, just the thing that Sidney Webb and she had always wanted to do in Britain. Yet, ironically enough, when she and he came to examine this exciting new world, they left behind them in England the fine precision tools that they had always employed to measure and weigh every detail of British institutions, and performed, instead, an act of faith, with the writing of a book in which the search for evidence was hasty and the evidence itself was uncritically accepted. The rationalism and sense of continuity that had guided her to her seventy-fifth year yielded to a burst of emotion that was long over-due. She and her husband never came to know well the roots of Russian history which, had they realized it, led just as definitely and inescapably to the upper limbs and foliage of today as do the roots of the British oak that they had traced so meticulously.

This informal little book might well be enjoyed by those who set out to read *My Apprenticeship*, and even more by all of us who look forward with anticipation, and a little apprehension, to the publication of Beatrice Webb's voluminous diaries.

ALEXANDER BALTZLY

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Problems in the Pacific

POPULATION AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC, by Warren Thompson. University of Chicago Press, 383 pages; Bibliography; $3.75

To read Warren Thompson's starkly realistic presentation of the Pacific problem is to relive the nightmarish experience of crossing Forty-second Street and Broadway during a noon-rush hour. Too, too many people, and seemingly little that can be done about it. He poises us on his "Maltheusian dilemma of colonialism" in which births exceed deaths in lands where there is little possibility of increasing the tillable acres, where helpful industrialization is decades away, and where the antidote of emigration is blocked by the "whites only" barricades of empty Australasia.

So long as "teeming Asia" endures at subsistence level, the masses will not be aroused to the resurgence of a "felt pressure of population," but when they are, Mr. Thompson mentions aggressive and expanding Japan as a precedent for what must inevitably be expected.

"If South and East Asia maintain their present birth rate indefinitely, there is probably no hope of avoiding a life-and-death struggle between these peoples and the low-birth-rate peoples. In the long run, there can be but one issue to such a struggle. The high-birth-rate people will win," according to Mr. Thompson.

As Mr. Thompson sees it, the American stake is limited to maintenance of whatever military establishments may be necessary to keep Japan harmless.

While not referring to the United Nations as such, he urges a world organization where the voice of all peoples can be heard, and which will give immediate promises of a better living for the population-ridden colonial areas. Although this manuscript was prepared before General MacArthur's policy had developed in Japan, his theory is not far removed from what is actually happening there under our occupation.

Population and Peace in the Pacific deals in detail with the population, agriculture, industry, natural resources and external trade of the continents and islands spread from Hawaii to India. He admits that much of the increase in population figures for Asia during the past century is due to newer scientific registration of births, yet the actual increases are startlingly stupendous, and they will continue so until economic and political reforms induce voluntary employment of birth control.

Mr. Thompson offers a skillful and thoughtful study of Oceania, Australia, New Zealand, Manchuria, Japan, China, Thailand, India, the Philippines, and the colonies of Southeast Asia. Populations and their laws have long been his special field. This book is vitally essential to those planning the future of the Pacific There is no escaping the potentialities of the Pacific as Mr. Thompson coldly portrays them. Of the 2.1 billion people on this earth, 1.2 billions are crowded into the areas surveyed in this work.

JOHN GOETTE

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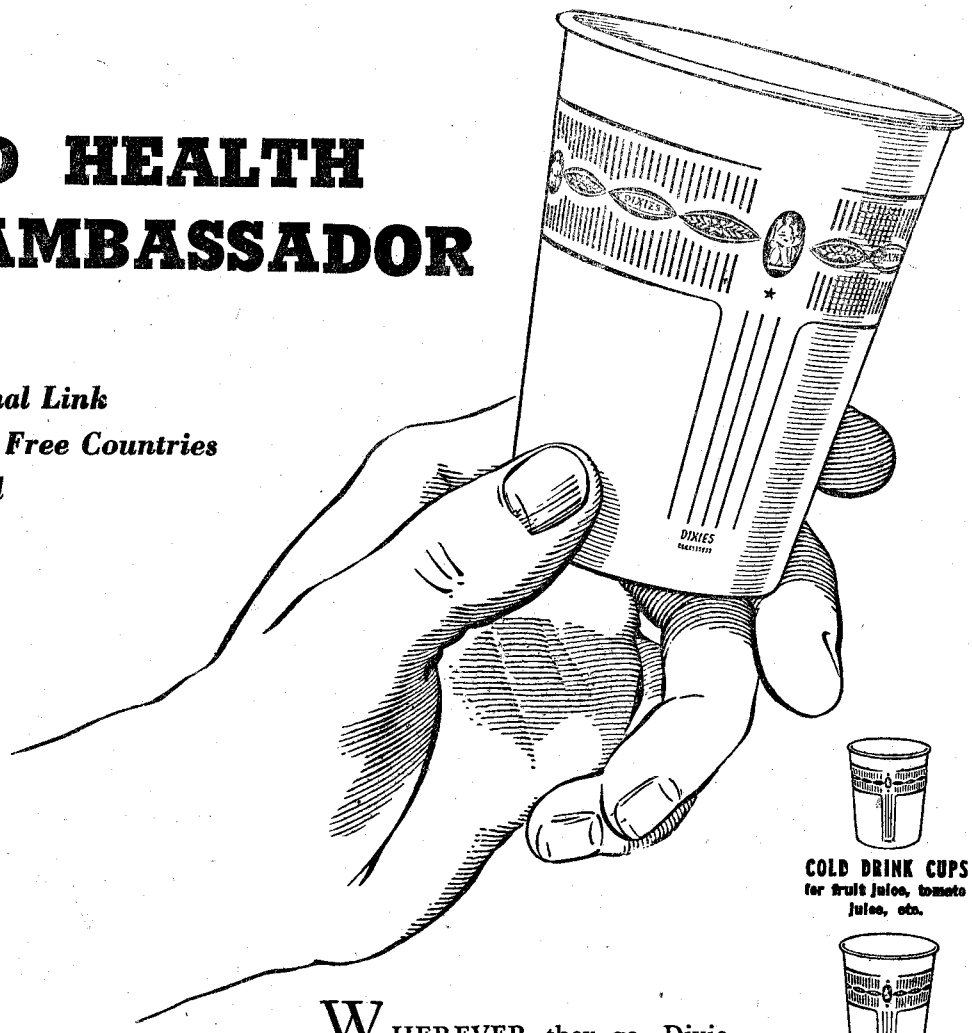

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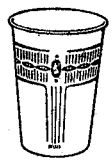

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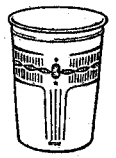

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